

# IN THESE TIMES

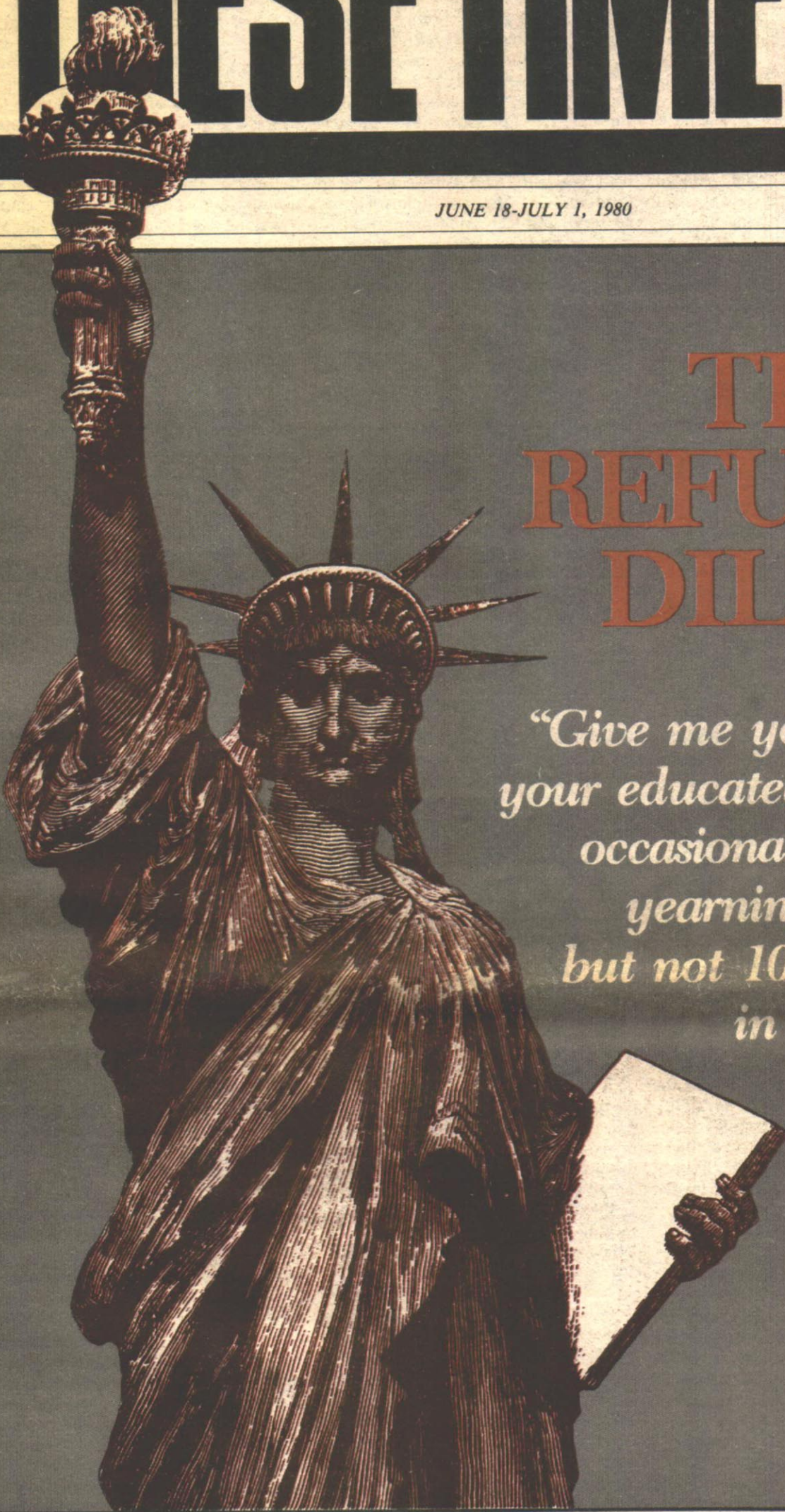
BLACKS  
AND THE  
THEATER

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75 CENTS



## THE REFUGEE DILEMMA

*"Give me your healthy,  
your educated, your  
occasional ballerina  
yearning to dance free..."  
but not 100,000 Cubans  
in an election year.*

## JOHN JUDIS ON THE DEATH OF POLITICS



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# THE INSIDE STORY



The new UAW leadership (left to right): Donald Ephlin, Raymond Majerus, Doug Fraser, Stephen Yokich, Owen Bieber.

## UAW sees new faces but few new ideas

By David Moberg

ANAHEIM, CALIF.

Within eyeshot of Walt Disney's fantasy land of magical transformations, 2,985 delegates to the United Auto Workers triennial convention confronted two major unfantastic transitions that were not nearly as much fun as a ride through a fake Matterhorn.

First, the union's major industry is undergoing a deep cyclical depression and a major shift in production that will permanently reduce the workforce and shift many jobs overseas. Also, the old guard of union leadership is leaving the union in the hands of new leaders who, although promising to continue the union's traditions as one of the most progressive in the U.S. labor movement, have not yet demonstrated to the members that they can muster the force or ideas to tackle the most serious problems the union has faced since its formation.

Although Doug Fraser continues as president for another three years, four long-time members of the Walter Reuther group that controlled the union's leadership since 1947 retired at this convention. Secretary-treasurer Emil Mazey—like the other retiring chief of officers, a veteran of 1930s organizing battles—will be replaced by Raymond Majerus, 55, who will also be responsible for aerospace and American Motors negotiations. Vice-president Irving Bluestone's direction of General Motors affairs will be taken over by Owen Bieber, 50. The Ford Division under Ken Bannon will shift to Donald Ephlin, 54. Stephen Yokich, 44, will replace Pat Greathouse—who resigned after he lost a bid for the administration caucus' nomination to secretary-treasurer—as vice-president in charge of agricultural implements.

Fraser ticked off the immediate problems—industry unemployment running at 40 percent and repeated plant closings—in his keynote speech, but he had no optimistic news. "If you see a light at the end of the tunnel," he told delegates, "it is probably an oncoming freight train."

Although he pinned the primary blame on the Carter administration's recessionary policies, Fraser devoted most of his attention to the union's effort to reduce Japanese imports. The conservative head of the Japanese Auto Workers, Ichiro Shioji, showed up to support Fraser's demand that the Japanese auto companies build plants in the U.S. Although criticized at home, he feels the move is needed to maintain both "good relations of Japan and the U.S. and...continued secure export production." The UAW, Fraser announced, is also pursu-

ing the import quotas or tariffs that Shioji fears by petitioning the International Trade Commission.

Although there was some sentiment among delegates for stopping all imports, there was also a strong undercurrent of discomfort with the heavy emphasis on imports, since many delegates blamed the U.S. corporations for their current problems. Some staff prevailed in hauling down, just before the convention opened, a huge banner in front of the hall that read "Unemployment...Made in Japan." But there were still smaller signs and literature with slogans such as "buy an import—lay off your neighbor" or "sell here—build here."

The latter admonition was picked up by some delegates, mainly members of a small and loosely linked but lively opposition tendency, who thought that the union should focus its attention on American companies, especially Ford and GM, that are rapidly expanding overseas and supplying increasing proportions of their "American" autos from factories around the world. "We should say to the American multinational corporations, if you want us to buy American, you should build American," Ford local 600 delegate Al Gardner told the convention. Despite acknowledgement of this problem, the union's leadership had no proposals for dealing with this shift in production, which may pose a much more serious long-term threat than Datsuns and Toyotas that at least now meet consumer desires—something that can be said for few of Detroit's products. It is a problem that goes beyond auto: in many aerospace plants one-third of the parts for contemporary jets come from overseas sources.

The convention buzzed and slumbered through many of the ritual proceedings, but delegates woke up with impassioned speech-making when the subject of plant closings came up. The union is a firm supporter of the National Employment Priorities Act introduced by Representative William Ford (D-Mich.) and Senator Don Riegle (D-Mich.). It would require such measures as advance notice of closings, public assistance to reopen where feasible, income and benefit protection, compensation to affected communities, and penalties on the corporation if it moves work overseas.

But some delegates from locals that will vanish from the roll-call after this convention, such as Dodge Main's Local 3, also urged that the federal government take over some of the closed plants and use them for mass transit production. A small group of Citizens Party supporters also promoted a Public-Autoworker Corporation for Transportation that would re-open plants to produce public transportation systems, "durable, fuel-efficient, safe and cheap cars," and other products, such as cogenerators (that produce heat and electricity together efficiently).

The only other item that drew emotion comparable to the plant closings issue was a move to drop the union's prohibition on Nazis, Fascists and Communists holding office, a typical union clause that the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals has ruled illegal. There was a sudden surge of old-style anti-communist religiosity ("My brother died in Korea," one woman shouted. "That's all I have to say."). In the absence of any administration-organized defense, the motion to delete was overwhelmingly defeated. It was suitably ironic that the vote followed the rehabilitation of former UAW leader George Addes (a victim of the internal red-baiting fights that secured control for the Reuther caucus) and a rousing reception for socialist Michael Harrington's speech on the need to go beyond the New Deal.

Past red-baiting had contributed to an outlook in the union that open political debate and contests are unproductively divisive and best kept on a moderately short leash. The union now needs fresh ideas more than ever,

and its smooth succession of leadership may guarantee continued commitment to the Reuther tradition, but also restricts the generation of new approaches.

"If the UAW philosophy and I did not go together," new vice-president Ephlin said, in a remark echoed by the other new officers, "I would not sit here today."

Ephlin shares retiring vice-president Bluestone's interest in "improving the quality of worklife, industrial democracy. I've been working at that a number of years. I think that will bring us closer to our members and improve our standing with them." Bieber observed that "naming of President Fraser to the Chrysler board was a great move, one we should have made a long time ago. We should expand it to other companies." He also supports the quality-of-work-life initiatives, and sees the need for new organizing to make up lost membership (a point Majerus also emphasized), especially among technical and professional workers. Majerus shares the interest in worker representatives on corporate boards, moving in the direction of West German and Scandinavian models.

All four new officers emphasized strongly in interviews the need for more political and legislative action. Bieber sees "more emphasis on solving problems through the legislative process instead of collective bargaining." As a result of "shrinkage" of the industry, for example, "we're not going to be in a position to take out of the collective bargaining pie the total cost of insurance or pensions," he said, increasing the need for national health insurance and improved social security. The other new officers agreed, as Yokich said, that "the breadbox and the ballot box are tied together," and saw need for a variety of legislative action: plant closing protection, import restraints, Chrysler-style bail-out aid, or wage-price controls.

But none had ready solutions for labor's poor political showing in recent years, except to hold out the hope that with such a deep crisis, UAW members would be spurred to more political activity. All four are committed to working within the Democratic Party and are opposed to a labor party or other independent political party, even if some were slightly sympathetic to the idea in theory. They will rely on coalitions like the Progressive Alliance and try to strengthen Democratic party discipline.

But union leaders will poll convention delegates in late summer to determine the union endorsement for president. The choice will be Jimmy Carter (if nominated), Ronald Reagan, John Anderson, Barry Commoner and Nobody, the current favorite with union bookies.

Yokich refused all political labels, emphasizing simply his identity as a "trade unionist." Ephlin expressed sympathy for the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee approach to issues. Bieber, who seemed most open to talking about a new political party, called himself a "liberal's liberal" and a "progressive." "I don't think the capitalist system as we know it today is totally sacred," he said, "But I'm not advocating doing away with the system." Majerus, a Carter delegate and former delegate for George McGovern and Morris Udall, calls himself a Democrat, a liberal, a progressive and a "Walter Reuther socialist. I'm concerned with people first and their needs."

"The election of officers is not going to represent a drastic shift or new directions for the union," Bieber said. "The Reuther image of this union isn't going to change." But the question the union faces is whether the Reuther image or tradition is adequate to its current needs and, beyond that, how even that amorphous tradition translates into concrete plans for this new era. The convention avoided a full-scale assessment of that tough question.

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IN THESE TIMES

# The big fight over chicken feed

By Robert Howard

WASHINGTON

**"T**HERE GOING IN BOTH directions at the same time," said Representative Robert Giaimo of Connecticut, chairman of the House Budget Committee. "I got two mandates, and I got headaches."

Giaimo's lament came late in the evening of May 29 after the House, in back-to-back votes, first rejected the \$613.3 billion defense-heavy, barely balanced 1981 federal budget proposed by the Senate-House conference committee, then instructed House conferees to hold fast to the \$153.7 billion in defense expenditures set in the rejected conference report.

The political maneuvering, sudden about faces, and general chaos that has haunted congressional consideration of the first budget resolution for fiscal year 1981 has sent a lot more people than Giaimo reaching for the aspirin bottle. Nearly a month behind schedule in the stalled budget process—which held nearly \$15 billion in 1980 appropriations hostage—the Congress finally limped to a compromise on June 12, agreeing to a budget hardly different from the one the House rejected in May.

But the paralysis of the Congress over the budget reflects a deeper paralysis in American political life. The new right nostrums of the '70s—in particular, that of the balanced budget itself—are irrelevant to the harsh realities of recessionary economy.

From the beginning, the 1981 budget has been shaped by the triad of political goals that has fueled America's steady shift to the right in recent years—erasing the federal deficit, substantially increasing defense spending, and cutting back on domestic social programs.

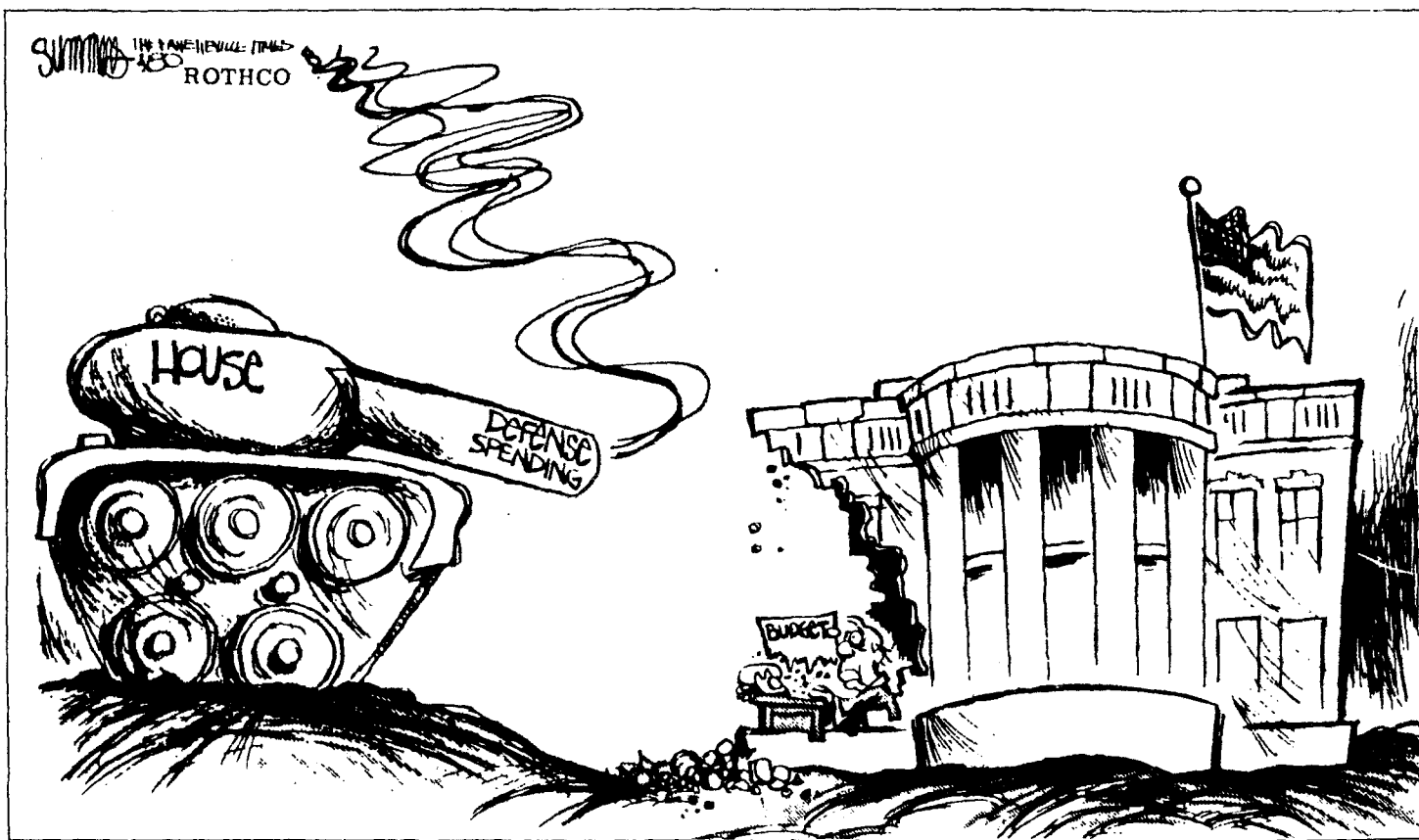
In January, President Carter's proposed budget had a deficit of \$15.6 billion. But when inflation soared to 18 percent in February and the budget-balancing frenzy swept the Hill almost overnight, the administration hurriedly prepared a revised plan brought into fragile balance with the help of \$16 billion in domestic cuts and \$10 billion "cushion" provided by the oil import fee.

Defense expenditures, however, remained sacrosanct. The administration budgeted \$150.5 billion for defense, an increase of 12.3 percent over 1980, compared to only 6 percent for domestic programs, well below the inflation rate. From 1980 to 1985, nearly \$1 trillion in military expenditures will boost the Pentagon's share of the total federal budget from 23.6 to 26.1 percent.

But the Senate-House conference committee went even farther, and that is where the impasse of the past month began. The Senate had originally proposed \$155.7 billion for defense, 16.2 percent more than last year. The House figure was much lower, \$147.9 billion, but in conference the Senate carried the day. The conferees reported out a total budget of \$613.3 billion with a slight \$500 million surplus.

The defense ceiling was \$153.7 billion, only \$2 billion below the original Senate figure. In addition to this direct "outlay" for 1981, the conference also set defense budget "authority"—the ceiling for multi-year programs that continue beyond the life of this particular budget—at \$171.3 billion. And to keep the budget in balance another \$4.8 billion in domestic spending was axed. According to Senate Budget Committee chairman Ernest Hollings of South Carolina, the conference report had "all the characteristics of what the senators want."

Five Democratic conferees from the House were not so pleased. William Brodhead, Richard Gephardt, Norman Mineta, Leon Pentta, and Timothy



## The entire debate over new right nostrums like a balanced budget is irrelevant to the harsh realities of a recessionary economy.

Wirth—quickly dubbed the "Gang of Five"—opposed the plan in conference and took their revolt against the gutting of social programs to the House floor. They received an unexpected ally in the person of Jimmy Carter. In a move widely interpreted as an election year maneuver to woo liberal interest groups, the president came out against the high defense and low social welfare levels in the budget. Sounding like a Democratic president for the first time in years (and only days after calling for increased military pay aboard the aircraft carrier *Nimitz*) Carter said that the conference budget "severely restrains" programs "for jobs, for cities, for training, for education—those very things that would prevent recession from getting out of hand." Hollings responded by blasting Carter for his "hypocrisy" and "outrageous, deplorable conduct." "He doesn't want a balanced budget, he wants a campaign budget," said the senator. "He's still running against Kennedy. He better wake up and start running against

The revolt of the Gang of Five was successful. House Republicans decided to oppose the budget for reasons of their own—part partisan politics, part protest at the absence of a tax cut—and a majority of both parties rejected the conference report. But before the dust had cleared, the Republicans demonstrated that their opposition had nothing to do with defense. Late in the evening of the 29th, after nearly a third of the representatives including many liberals had left the floor, Republican Delbert Latta of Ohio forced through a non-binding "instruction" supporting the high defense numbers in the conference report—thus prompting Giaimo's lament.

Since the contradictory House vote, Congressional leaders have been desperately trying to iron out a compromise. The final version is barely different from the original conference report. \$800 million in long-term defense budget authority has been shifted to a variety of social programs, but the \$153.7 billion direct outlay figure has not been touched. \$300 million from the already razor-thin \$500

million surplus has also been recruited for 1981 income security and transportation programs. This amounts to less than a drop in the budgetary bucket—or, in the words of one liberal lobbyist, "complete chicken feed."

Most observers have explained the impasse over the budget as a classic election year "guns versus butter" political brawl. But the budget conflict tells more about the future of American politics than its past.

For this has not been a traditional conflict between conservatives and liberals. It has taken place entirely within the narrow confines of the new conservative politics of the '70s. Genuine liberals in the Congressional Black Caucus or from urban and low-income districts such as Elizabeth Holtzman or Stephen Solarz of New York were quickly closed out of the budget process.

Even the celebrated Gang of Five are hardly traditional New Deal liberals. With the possible exception of Brodhead from Michigan, they represent that generation of independent, centrist moderates who have been elected—often from Republican districts—to the Congress during the past six years. For them, the issue was not so much "guns versus butter" as "defense profligacy versus across-the-board restraint."

According to one member of the gang, Richard Gephardt of Missouri, "We are somewhere between the Northeast group, mostly concerned with domestic programs, and the Southern and Southwest groups, mostly concerned about defense programs." Said California's Leon Panetta, "We tend to be tight-fisted fiscally, but sympathetic on social issues."

This is a good description of independent presidential candidate John Anderson. The Gang of Five are closest to that amalgam of economic conservatism and social liberalism that Anderson represents and that, given the rigid limits of political debate in this election year, has come to be defined as "liberal." Thus, President Carter's endorsement of the budget revolt was less part of the long race against Kennedy (as suggested by

Hollings) as the first step in an absolutely crucial campaign to win the moderate center away from Anderson.

But the fireworks surrounding the budget conflict obscures the economic conservatism of the center, which is scarcely different from that of the hard-core right. According to the *Washington Post*, the amounts under dispute were less than 1 percent of the total \$613.3 billion budget. And it is significant that many of the cuts in social spending, justified by the imperatives of anti-inflation policy, are precisely in those areas where massive social investment is necessary to attack inflation directly—mass transit, fuel assistance for the poor, subsidized housing, productivity-related research.

Finally, neither of the budget alternatives deals effectively with the severe recession that is brewing. It will blow this or any other balanced budget clean out of the water. Economic indicators plunged 4.8 percent in April—the steepest drop in the 32-year history of the indicators as a measure of economic activity; unemployment rose to 7.8 percent in May with some Wall Street analysts predicting 10 percent by the end of the year. House Budget Committee economists figure that for each percentage point of unemployment above the assumed 1981 average of 7.4 percent used in preparing the budget, there will be a \$20 billion shortfall due to a decline in revenues and an increase in unemployment-related spending.

So, as early as the president's budget review in July and certainly by the autumn, the frenzy to balance the 1981 budget may flee Washington about as fast as it roared into town last winter. But this should offer no particular consolation to the left. After building his balanced budget bed, Carter may have to sleep in it.

If anyone is in a position to back off from budget-balancing in order to fight inflation, it is perhaps Ronald Reagan. The *Wall Street Journal* reports that Reagan is committed to annual increases in the defense budget of at least \$30 billion during his first term in office and is already prepared to sacrifice a balanced budget in order to make them. From there, it is not too big a step to move toward a full-blown alternative to the Democratic recession—the systematic militarization of the American economy.

Rather than announcing a consensus founded on the new conservative economics, the fight over the 1981 budget points to the start of a new polarization in American politics. On one side, an increasingly aggressive militarist right. On the other, an empty and eroding center that will leave a black space on the political landscape waiting to be filled. ■



## IN THE NATION

## NUCLEAR POWER

## N.Y. unions silence safety complaints

By Susan Jaffe

NEW YORK

**N**UCLEAR WORKERS HAVE been conspicuously absent from the controversy surrounding nuclear energy. Yet carpenters, welders, mechanics, and engineers at nuclear power plants know more about what's happening there than most people. Their silence should not be mistaken for apathy or complicity: two recent court decisions in New York reveal how unions are stifling criticism in the rank and file. This assault on the First Amendment and the free-speech protections of the labor laws is dangerous. If workers can't report problems or seek information on their own, then nuclear safety is in jeopardy.

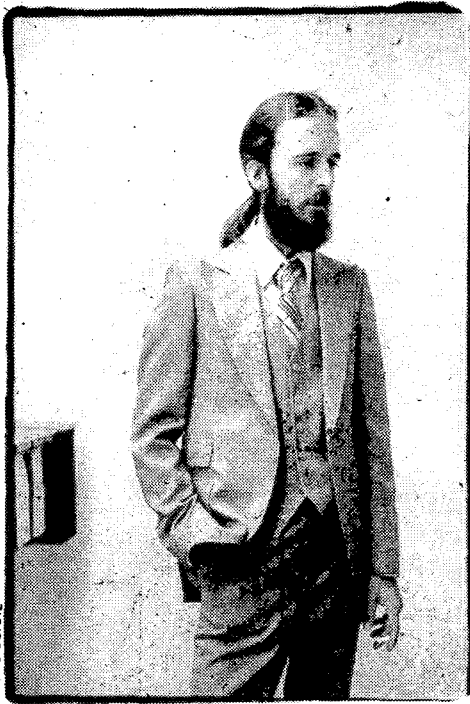
Richard Ostrowski, a Con Edison welder, was removed as shop steward for 14 months last fall after he held a meeting on the health effects of low-level radiation for Con Ed welders and mechanics who work at the Indian Point nuclear power plant in Westchester, 24 miles north of New York City. The meeting was not authorized by the union (Utility Workers, Local 1-2), whose own radiation expert (the person that, along with Con Ed, supposedly tells workers everything they need to know) was absent. The speaker at Ostrowski's meeting was recommended by the SHAD Alliance, a New York anti-nuclear group, which also supplied some paper for printing leaflets and helped to distribute them. The union, practicing guilt by association, claimed that these arrangements proved Ostrowski had "collaborated" with SHAD to shut down Indian Point. He could not continue as a shop steward.

Ostrowski and three co-workers asked for a preliminary injunction in federal district court against the union's punishment of members who exercise their rights to free speech and assembly and asked that Ostrowski be reinstated. New York State Attorney General Robert Abrams filed a friend-of-the-court brief supporting the Con Ed workers: "The workers are often the first to perceive danger or the ones most affected by it, and their protection is best insured when the law encourages them to speak and think freely about their working conditions."

After a preliminary hearing in February, federal district court Judge Constance B. Motley ordered Ostrowski's reinstatement and prohibited the union from "in any way disciplining plaintiffs for exercising their rights..." which included, she ruled, freedom of association. A full trial will take place in the summer.

Last December, John Everett, a 28-year-old carpenter shop steward at the Brookhaven National Laboratory, was asked to testify in defense of demonstrators arrested during a protest at the Long Island Lighting Company's Shoreham nuclear power plant, 60 miles from New York City in Brookhaven, Long Island. Everett had worked at Shoreham for three years before he was appointed steward by his father, James Everett, who is business agent for the Suffolk County (Long Island) Carpenters and Joiners union. Last June, Everett and his brothers Graham and Paul were among 617 people arrested for trespassing during a rally at Shoreham that drew nearly 20,000 in the rain.

The day before he took the stand, the Long Island daily *Newsday* reported that Everett and another worker would be testifying about "shoddy construction practices, welding defects and improper concrete pours." That night he got a call from his father.



John Everett

**The workers who know the most about plant defects are afraid to speak out.**

Everett claims his father told him, "My testimony could mean the shutdown of Shoreham, that the union would have to answer to 130 people who might be laid off, and that my removal as shop steward was necessary if I was to testify. He told me to think about it and call him in the morning with my answer." The next day Everett went to the Suffolk County District Court under subpoena. But he was no longer a shop steward. (And, perhaps coincidentally, he lost his job at Brookhaven a few days later.)

The union and the Long Island Lighting Company (LILCO) tried to discount his testimony, claiming that Everett was not an expert and not qualified to criti-

cize construction at Shoreham. Yet Everett says, "I only told the court what the union taught me was wrong"—construction procedures and standards were not to be ignored. But Nuclear Regulatory Commission investigators took Everett's charges very seriously and instituted a four-month special investigation as a direct result of information from Everett and other workers. Strangely, the NRC investigators found no substantiation for any of the 30 allegations they looked into.

Leighton Chong, an attorney who represented Everett and another worker during the investigation, said, "The NRC relied on LILCO paper work and LILCO employees to discount the allegations without ever getting to the substance of the charges."

**Father vs. son.**

By the end of December, Everett filed a suit in federal district court in Brooklyn for a preliminary injunction against the union to regain his stewardship and asked for \$1 million in damages. Everett charged that his rights of free speech (and those of fellow workers) were violated: that attempts had been made to prevent him from testifying in a trial, reporting possible code violations to the NRC, and from voicing an opinion contrary to union policy. At a January hearing, the union produced two witnesses to confirm James Everett's assertion that his son had quit his steward job. No threats had ever been made, they said, and in fact Everett's anti-nuclear views had nothing to do with the case despite the union's strong pro-nuclear, pro-Shoreham position. Union attorneys pointed out that Everett's father made John a steward even though he knew he had participated in the Shoreham demonstration.

In his decision, Judge Jack B. Weinstein said he wasn't sure what had happened. A judge with a reputation as a civil libertarian, Weinstein upheld the right of any worker to oppose nuclear energy or to hold a political belief without fear of disciplinary action. But the judge didn't see how this applied to the case and instead addressed its emotional tenor. "To what extent was [James Ev-

erett] talking to his son as a father and to what extent as a union official?" He decided that John Everett quit his lucrative and cherished job to save his father embarrassment. If Everett had been disciplined because of his anti-nuclear views, Weinstein said, such action would have been illegal.

Despite the fact that a *New York Times* reporter, Frances Cerra, was subpoenaed and, armed with two *Times* lawyers, verified under oath that James Everett told her he fired his son, the preliminary injunction was denied.

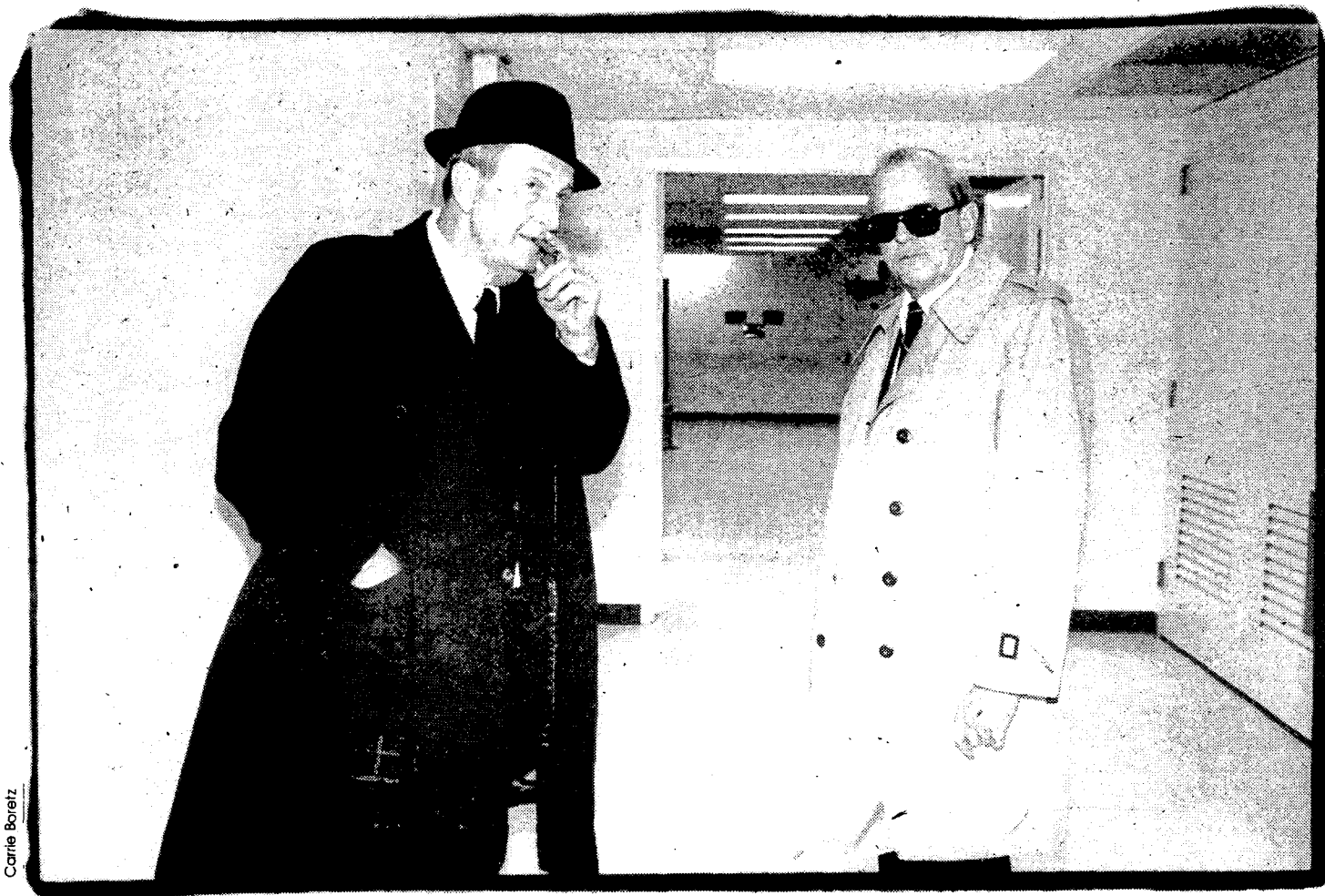
"Because I am his son," John Everett told reporters outside the courtroom, "the judge says that the business agent is allowed to violate my rights." Minutes later, James Everett came out of the courtroom and approached his son. John looked at him and quickly turned away, saying, "Get away from me, you fucking liar."

To prevent the public trial which would follow and to avoid adverse publicity, the union approached John Everett several times with proposals for an out-of-court settlement. In April, Everett moved to Florida after seven months of forced unemployment in New York, accepted a large sum of money from the union, and ended his suit.

Everett is a reluctant dissenter. "When I took the job at Shoreham, I was just interested in working. I wasn't anti-nuclear. I wasn't pro or con." But Everett soon saw many things wrong at the plant. "The union wasn't concerned about the defects, the foremen weren't concerned. I figured if I could make them known to the public, they'd be fixed."

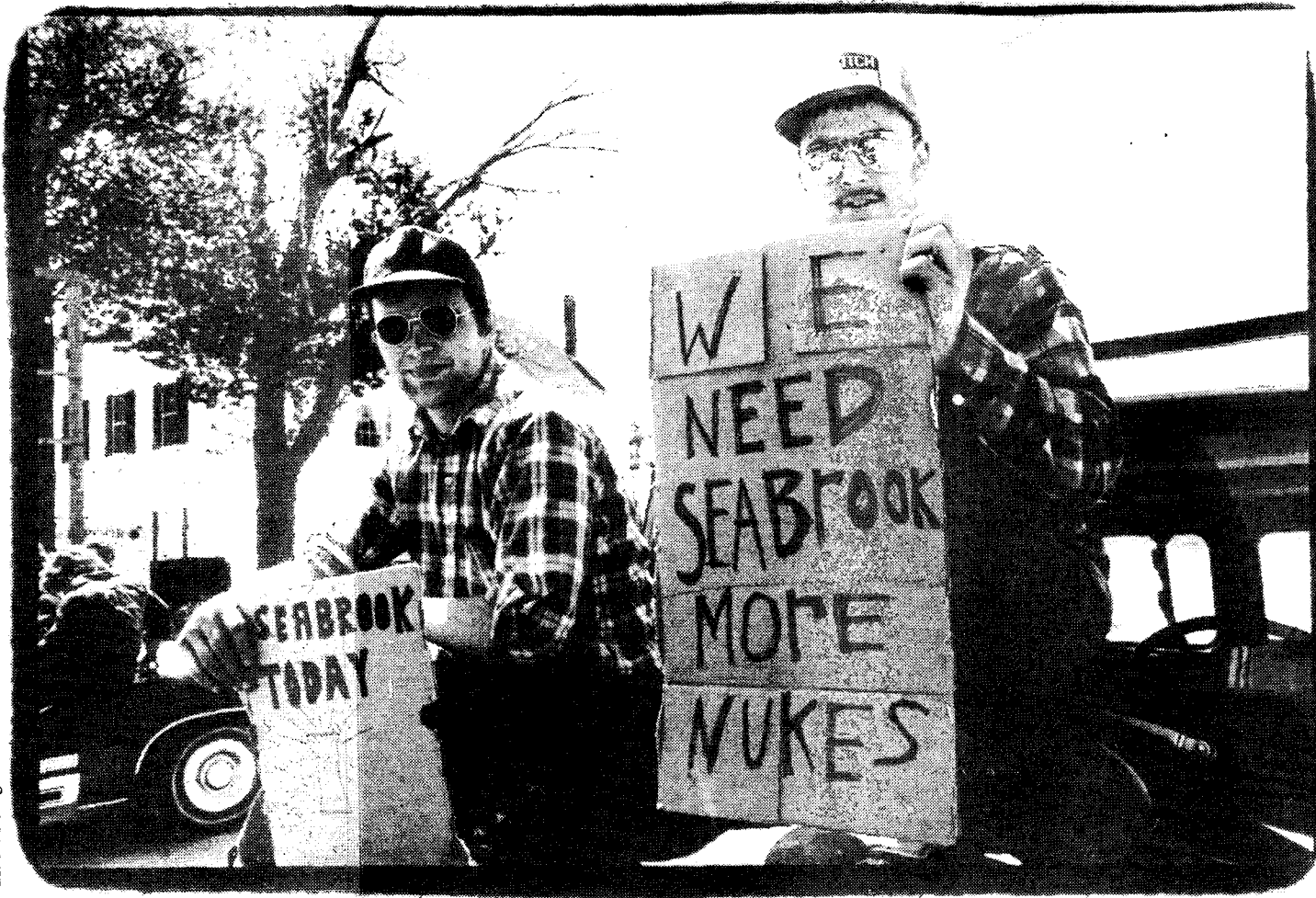
In addition to the suit, Everett also filed charges of unfair labor practices against the union with the National Labor Relations Board. The NLRB rejected Everett's complaint as well as his appeal. While Judge Weinstein wasn't sure what had happened, the NLRB was clear: even if the union fired Everett, it was allowed to do so. The NLRB ruled in May that his testimony against Shoreham "was in direct contravention to the stated public position of the union concerning the desirability of the Shoreham Project in relation to the employment of

Continued on page 10.



Union president George Babcock (left) with James Everett, John's father.





## UNIONS

# Are pro-nuke unions willing to strike a deal with the devil?

By Maureen Weaver

WASHINGTON

**W**HEN JOSEPH COORS' Heritage Foundation and its anti-union corporate allies gather in Chicago next week for the Second Annual Energy Advocacy Conference, the leadership of organized labor will not be outside picketing. Instead—thanks to the AFL-CIO's Building and Construction Trades Department and its president, Robert A. Georgine—AFL officials, including Lane Kirkland, will be inside breaking bread with the same union-busting corporations that Kirkland and the unions have bitterly denounced over the past few years.

The quarter-million dollar Chicago conference, scheduled for June 26 to 29, is part of a nation-wide "energy awareness campaign" to revive lagging support for the nuclear industry. It is being orchestrated by the Atomic Industrial Forum, the Edison Electric Institute, major energy and construction firms and new right political elements, based on plans provided by Charles Yulish, longtime public relations consultant for the nuclear industry. Many of the participating corporations are members of the Business Roundtable, a coalition of Fortune 500 firms organized in 1969 by then-U.S. Steel chairman Roger Blough for the purpose of undercutting the unions that make up the Building and Construction Trades of the AFL-CIO.

The 4.1 million-member construction unions have been concerned about the Roundtable's efforts—as well they should be. According to J.C. Turner, president of the Operating Engineers, who denounced the Roundtable in a 1979 speech: "No greater concentration of economic power has ever been placed in the hands of one centralized group in this nation's political history." Among the Roundtable's offenses: it has attempted to repeal the Davis-Bacon Act, and it has vigorously opposed high-priority labor legislation such as labor law reform, common situs picketing, and the consumer protection agency. In conjunction with the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, it is now actively working to gut the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, and to secure eventual passage of a national right-to-work law.

But the Roundtable's principal claim to fame has been its campaign for non-union, or "open shops." It sponsors seminars on "Avoiding Unions," and "Making Unions Unnecessary." Through a related legal chapter, it has won a lawsuit to allow union contractors such as Fluor and J.A. Jones to go "double breasted," that is, to set up or buy non-union subsidiaries. Ninety percent of Fluor's considerable domestic business now goes to its open shop subsidiary, Daniel Interna-

"Millions of future jobs hang on building nuclear power plants now." Many of the 15 general union presidents and their local officials participate officially in assorted industry-created "jobs & energy" coalitions, such as Americans for Energy Independence, the National Environmental Development Association, and their various local counterparts.

What is news is that in an attempt to preserve what few union jobs are left building nuclear plants—and to gain

## The building trades' support of nuclear power plant construction puts them in alliance with the same corporations that have lobbied against all labor legislation and led the drive against union shops.

tional, which it bought in 1977. Turner has charged that the Roundtable's activities have made Brown & Root into the nation's largest open-shop contractor, and has made the Associated Builders and Contractors—target of much vilification from the building trades—into the large, powerful organization it is today by deliberately sending billions of dollars worth of business their way.

It is hardly news that the building trades support nuclear power. Years ago, the trades decided to shift their focus from decentralized housing activities to large industrial construction projects. Today, suffering from unemployment higher than the national average (joblessness in the construction industry was 17 percent in May, compared to 7 percent nationally), the trades find themselves dependent upon fewer—and larger, more powerful, and in many cases anti-union—employers.

No one has been particularly surprised that the trades joined with the energy industry to defeat anti-nuclear ballot initiatives and to push for strong AFL-CIO nuclear support. Georgine even posed for an advertisement widely run by the Edison Electric Institute in 1977, which pictured him before the AFL-CIO headquarters in Washington announcing:

some union jobs building synthetic fuel behemoths—the trades leadership has apparently decided to pool its money with the right and the energy giants, in the desperate attempt to secure jobs and call off the union-busting.

One example of this new strategy was the "Nuclear Power Stabilization Agreement," which the trades' presidents signed along with the Teamster's president—with Jimmy Carter looking on—in 1978. The agreement mandated no strikes, and gave a joint labor-management committee in Washington the authority to arrange wage rates and work rules. The trades' traditional distinction between craft and non-craft workers was blurred, and there were no penalties for work stoppages or construction postponement, declared the utilities. More recently the unions signed a "Recovery Agreement" with Metropolitan Edison this spring, which set standards for 2,000 union jobs cleaning up the radiation-drenched power plant at Three Mile Island. Again, the leadership signed away local bargaining rights, agreed not to strike (or even to leaflet!), and settled for minimal workplace radiation guarantees.

### A change of heart?

For a brief time last year, it appeared as if

Georgine had had enough of the anti-union tactics of industry, particularly the energy companies. In July, 1979, he fired off a letter to the board of the Edison Electric Institute, and to the Atomic Industrial Forum (on whose board Georgine sits), saying he was contemplating whether or not to recommend a re-evaluation of the trades' strong pro-nuclear position. Georgine warned that he was reviewing carefully the contractors' and the Roundtable's attacks on unions, as well as the specter of future nuclear accidents raised by events at Three Mile Island. "Many groups have redoubled their efforts to win our support," said Georgine. "Not only can they rally demonstrators across the country, but through their research, they have reopened the question of which energy programs will most effectively create jobs." (The trades have done virtually no independent analysis in that area—relying instead upon the studies and propaganda provided by the energy corporations.)

In August 1979, Georgine started up the Center to Protect Workers' Rights to counter the corporate assault on unions. In addition, he agreed to serve on the board of Big Business Day, and the trades contributed substantially to that effort. But just two months after Big Business Day, and less than a year after his "re-evaluating" letter to the nuclear industry, the trades have thrown in their lot with Heritage and other union foes.

What happened? A trades spokesman, who was authorized to speak for Georgine but who refused to be identified, claims the corporations have "come around." But he offered few examples of where and how.

### The best defense.

The Chicago extravaganza is certainly no big payoff for the trades. It is an encore to a February 1979 Energy Advocacy Conference organized by Heritage—only this year's version is being staged by the "Energy for the Eighties" Foundation. According to the conference brochure (which lacks a union bug), the conference will focus on nuclear power, synthetic fuels, and advocacy skills. Says Jan Bennett, a conference spokesperson: "The anti-nuclear activists seem to be experts at convincing politicians of their way of thought.... People who are for the development of energy have not been as effective."

The basic plan seems to be to imitate the anti-nuclear movement with corporate backed "citizens groups." Though most of the money for this conference has been put up by engineering associations and societies, utilities and the energy industry, there are few obvious corporate names among its 79 sponsors. Instead, the visible supporters are the groups created out of last year's Heritage Foundation conference such as Citizens for Total Energy (from California), Voice of Energy, More Power to Ya, and the Society for the Advancement of Fission Energy (originators of the slogan: "Nuclear Power—Safer Than Sex").

The sponsors also include the American Nuclear Society, Americans for Energy Independence, and Consumer Alert—a group that opposes all government regulations because "a marketplace where all corporations, big and small, have to compete is the best place for the consumer to shop." (Barbara Keating, president of Consumer Alert, serves on the conference's advisory board, was the chief spokesperson for the Heritage Foundation's "Growth Day"—the corporate answer to Big Business Day—and was invited to speak at a trades energy and employment conference in May, to the chagrin of some participants.)

Building Trades president Georgine also sits on the conference advisory board. The Building and Construction Trades Department of the AFL-CIO is an official sponsor. Its secretary-treasurer, Joseph Maloney, is on the finance committee. And James Sheets, director of energy development at the Laborers' International Union—and a close adviser to Georgine—is on the board of the conference.

According to a March 3 memo from Sheets to Georgine, the trades and their affiliates would be expected to mail registration materials (or provide their mailing labels) to the Heritage Foundation,

*Continued on page 10.*



# Feeble smiles at the State Dep't.

By Lee Aitken & Pat Aufderheide

**T**HE EXODUS FROM MARIEL harbor has exposed the chaos of the American refugee policy. Because of that chaos, the Cubans who have recently flocked here, declaiming their yearnings to breathe free and wear blue jeans, have been left in legal limbo—ineligible for public assistance in any form.

The U.S. has never had a uniform policy on refugees. As political winds have shifted, so have government responses to displaced groups:

- A Russian Jew gets up to \$1,100 from the federal government to match a similar amount from a private sponsoring agency. But a Czech can get only \$250. Meanwhile, an Indochinese refugee is eligible for \$500 in federal help for resettlement.

- A Cuban who arrived in the last few weeks was issued a temporary-status document that "paroled" him or her for 60 days. A Haitian who came ashore during the same period was served with deportation papers.

- Iranians with legal visas have found, since the hostage crisis, that they cannot extend their status without applying for asylum.

- Nicaraguans who fled in the wake of civil war have been allowed to stay and work under a temporary arrangement. So far Salvadoreans have not been given the same dispensation.

- About the time Congress passed a ceiling for 1980 of 50,000 refugees that could be admitted without the president's consulting with Congress, Carter suddenly doubled the number of Indochinese refugees coming into the U.S. from 7,000 to 14,000 a month.

The problem of refugee policy suddenly became acute with the Cuban influx. And it is now as unavoidable as it is gargantuan. In all 350,000 people may enter the U.S. outside normal immigration channels this year. (Only some 40,00 entered annually over the last several years.) Government estimates of the total cost of refugee services for fiscal '81 were \$1.7 billion, even before the Cubans began streaming in.

## New law.

Refugee policy was supposed to be regularized when, in March, President Carter signed the Refugee Act of 1980. Prior to that act the U.S. gave refugee status and the special benefits that accrue (refugees are eligible for more aid than citizens, including resettlement benefits and special programs to make them "self-sufficient") only to persons in flight from a "communist regime." At the discretion of the president, entire nationalities could be so designated.

The new act brings the U.S. definition in line with that established by the UN in 1952. Now anyone who cannot return to his or her country because of "well founded fear of persecution" can be declared a refugee—and that status is to be decided on a case by case basis. But the way the law is written, only displaced people *outside* the U.S. can apply for consideration as refugees—no clear provision was made for those who physically make it to our shores and then plead fear of return.

Carter's dilemma is how to squeeze 112,000 Cubans into this category. His ability to do that will determine who picks up what part of the tab for their resettlement and maintenance—and so far the State Department is stalling on a final determination, afraid to make an ar-

range for the Cubans that may affect U.S. policy toward others who are already here illegally or may enter illegally in the future.

For Cubans in smaller numbers, the government probably would do what it has done for the Nicaraguans—admit them under a category termed "temporary voluntary departure" (which appears nowhere in the immigration and naturalization laws.) In fact, the status is not temporary and does not assume departure. It allows people to work and makes them eligible for public assistance benefits (welfare, food stamps, CETA, and so on) like any U.S. citizen.

And that's the problem. Most public assistance programs—as well as special services for minorities under Title XX of social security act—are funded in part by states and localities. And the states that—through no choice of their own—are slated to receive large numbers of Cubans refuse to shoulder the added burden on a whole range of public services from schools to housing. "It's a national problem," said a refugee specialist with the National Governors' Association. "I don't think the states will be willing to go with anything less than 100 percent reimbursement from the federal government."

## While the State Department stewes over their official status, the Cubans are being discharged into the welcoming arms of the right wing.



Volunteers processing incoming Cubans from Ft. Chaffee at a Chicago flower shop.

While the State Department is figuring out how to do that, the Cubans are in a legal holding pattern. About \$10 million was scraped up by the Federal Emergency Management Administration (the agency that handles floods and earthquakes) to transport the Cubans and process them through the camps, thus buying time on the policy issue. The Cubans are being discharged with a 60-day temporary work permit and an already filled-out application for food stamps. Yet in most states, including Illinois, they are not eligible for stamps. (Florida is an exception.) An Illinois department of public aid official says that he is accepting applications for cash assistance and simply holding on to them, waiting for some word from Washington.

## Anarchy reigns.

If this sounds like utter confusion, it is. Michael Maggio, a Washington immigration lawyer, described the immigration bureaucracy as a "convention of anarchists." Attorney Ira Kurzban, who is handling the case of some 30,000 Haitians fighting deportation proceedings in southern Florida, suspects that the administration will slip special legislation through the "back door." Florida representative Dante Fascell has introduced a bill that would allocate \$100 million to resettle people who "fled Haiti and Cuba,"

*Continued on page 8.*

# The anti-Castro welcome wagon

By Lee Aitken & Pat Aufderheide

**W**ITH FEDERAL POLICY IN disarray, where does a newly-arrived Cuban refugee go for help? The Catholic Charities and the International Rescue Commission, both present in the camps, help locate family members and try to find jobs. But in the absence of a guarantee of federal reimbursement, neither agency is undertaking major responsibility for the

astounding amount of time fighting among themselves, splintering and reforming, but the majority of them hold firmly to a basic tenet—that the Castro regime is temporary. The possibility of normalization of U.S.-Cuban relations, as Jeff Stein explained in a *New York* magazine article, threatened the right at its core.

The effect was most visible in terrorist activity. Travel agencies where people could arrange for Cuba flights were threatened. One travel agent, Carlos Muniz, was murdered and his murder claimed by the Cuban terrorist group Omega 7. Omega 7's "Commander Zero" had explained in an ultimatum, "Any Cuban or Puerto Rican, just as any American who travels to Cuba, regardless of his motives, is considered our enemy, and we will be forced to deal with them as we did Muniz."

You could also see the effect of threatened normalization of relations in legitimate groups like Abdala, neo-conservative exile youth group. Abdala, reported Stein in a *Village Voice* article, in the past stuck to activities like hosting right-wing international student conferences. But last summer two Abdala members were charged with shooting up a meeting of the left-wing Cuban youth group the Antonio Maceo Brigade, and New York police told Stein they thought Abdala supported Omega 7's recent bombings.

The recent flood of refugees comes at a perfect moment for regrouping among Cuban right-wing groups. A lucky coincidence put representatives of major groups in the right place at the right time.

On April 4, conservative Cubans were holding a convention to coordinate activities between different regional and national groups. It was the third meeting of a coalition group provoked into existence by Cuba's hosting of the Non-aligned countries. More than 700 people attended, 458 of them delegates, from 159 Cuban organizations in seven states, Puerto Rico, Venezuela and Mexico.

The *Junta Patriótica Cubana*, as it was called, then elected officials who suggest the stripe of the organization. President is Manuel Antonio de Varona—one-time Cuban prime minister and puppet head of the Cuban government in exile established in the U.S. during the Bay of Pigs invasion. (At that time he nearly drove some of his co-conspirators out of the organization with his right-wing extremism.) Vice-president is Alberto Martinez Echenique, one-time president of the 2506 Brigade, the paramilitary organization involved in the Bay of Pigs invasion. Also in Junta leadership is the current president of Abdala, Gustavo Marin.

The Junta was in session when the word of the Peruvian embassy incident hit, and the convention had its first task served it on a platter.

The Junta immediately set about raising money. The existing Cuban community in the U.S. is fairly well off, as befits the group of middle-class professionals and businessmen who left Cuba in the first great exodus. (Forty percent of Cuban households have annual income of more than \$25,000.)

This group of people, with the help of radio marathons on conservative Spanish language stations, raised half a million dollars in the first days of the influx. Later, in a telethon in which the Junta participated, over \$3 million was raised. Half that money went to the International Rescue Committee, with the Junta distributing the rest.

Junta members also showed up at the processing camps where, one of the members proudly said, "There was a large table of the Junta right next to the Immigration Service table." Volunteers flocked in—some 400 to 600 a day in Dade County, Fla., to assist INS officers.

The new coherence lent to the Cuban right wing by the coordination of relief efforts may be more illusory than real, if a meeting with State Department officials shortly after the first wave of Cubans arrived gives any clue. Far from lobbying State Department officials in the direction of policy resolution, different members of the coalition—which ranged from strongly anti-Castroite old guard to a member of the "Committee

*Continued on page 8.*



# One day in the life of the camps

By Nick Welsh

On June 1 Nick Welsh visited Fort McCoy, Wisc., just two days after the first planeload of Cuban refugees arrived at this 60,000-acre compound 125 miles north of Madison.

**T**HE CUBANS WERE SEGREGATED into separate camps for single men, single women, families and the sick. Our military escort, Sergeant Young, later told us that troops on base call the sick camp the "fruit farm." Willis, a translator and media coordinator attracted from Madison by wages of \$5.41 an hour plus considerable overtime, explained that the Cubans must sign permission slips before we could conduct any interviews.

On our way to the family camp, we passed yellow busloads of newly-arrived Cubans on their way to the processing center. There they will receive one pair of J.C. Penney's blue jeans, two blue workshirts and one white sweatshirt.

On our right and our left stood barrack after barrack, enclosed by high steel link fences. Guarding the gate of every fence was a military policeman, most of whom were black. Behind the fences Cubans in blue and white strolled the boundaries of their camp, talked with one another, waved to the press. Some played tetherball, some played soccer with tetherballs cut from their tethers. Racially, the Cubans were white, black and brown, with every conceivable mixture in between.

We asked people in the family camp why they had left Cuba. Their answers were a mixture of political and economic complaints. One man said he left because he could not build his own house.

"I worked in heavy machinery and I worked very hard, but the government would not give us the opportunity to acquire the building materials with which we could construct our own homes and live in them instead of as we have been living—with our parents—without being able to make our own independent lives."

A black laundry worker from Havana, with her two children, said, "My husband left two weeks ago. In Cuba we didn't have a good job, salaries were not very high and we could not live together as a family because of the housing situation."

(The size of the housing crisis in Cuba is evidenced by the reaction of one woman who returned to her family in Cuba in May: "People are delighted to see troublemakers from their block leave. The world is so small there, they all know who's who, and there has been a problem in incorporating people into the revolution. But if someone leaves, it means a house will become available." —Ed.)

We spoke to a man in his mid-30s, an ex-political prisoner who came with his father-in-law and wife. The man was born at Guantanamo, at the U.S. Naval base where his father worked.

"We did sabotage," he explained, "because we did not believe in the communist system. We burned the sugar cane and destroyed the machinery that processes it, so there would be less sugar production and greater difficulty."

"I was not ready for the kind of life communism provided. It was very poor. There was a lack of jobs and people were treated very poorly."

He served six years in prison. When he and his family left Cuba, he says the

Cuban government threatened to retaliate against his family still in Cuba if he or his relatives mentioned his past as a political criminal.

In the men's camp we spoke to a short, red-headed man.

"In 1969 I was working for a small bookstore and paper shop, as co-manager. In that year the bookstore was taken over—intervened is the word—by the Cuban government. I lost a job. I had been able to accumulate a little bit of money with my wife, so I didn't have to work."

"The government became very suspicious of me because I was able to live like this, and started looking into my life. They passed a law against vagrancy, and I was to be considered a vagrant because I was not working. So I was put in jail for two years."

"I wasn't exactly turned in. I was simply informed upon by the Committee for the Defense of the Revolution, which are street committees that work for the Ministry of the Interior, and essentially find out everything there is to know about your life. To live relatively well without working is considered to be a crime in Cuba."

"I went to jail as a common criminal, not as a political criminal, so I had very little relationship with the political prisoners who were there. Besides, I've never been very political."

"While I was in prison I learned to be a carpenter, so when I got out I attempted to find carpentry jobs here and there. Just as I left Cuba, I was being evaluated for that position. I still don't know whether I would have obtained that position. That means it has taken them eight years to see if I was qualified as a carpenter."

"I was always against the revolution. Most of my family are 'integrated'—they are part of the political process. I even have a brother in the army."

"It's a little difficult to explain why I'm against the revolution because I had no big important position in Cuba before. I'm of peasant background. I can understand why the rich people were against the revolution. But as a peasant, I was always against the revolution because I could see that the peasantry lived better under capitalism than well-off people live today under socialism."

One of the characteristics of this wave, unlike the last exodus, is that people are not professionals or the last generation's bourgeoisie. The May 19 editorial in *Granma* characterized those who have left largely as "lumpen." "Now what is left to imperialism as its only allies in our country," read the editorial, "are the lumpen and the anti-social elements, including among the latter those who, while not exactly lumpen, completely lack a sense of national pride or any attachment to their country. We have no qualms about their leaving to live in 'Yankee Paradise.' The imperialist blockade against Cuba generates lumpen and, therefore, emigration."

## Hard work.

We found the Cubans happily optimistic about their future in the U.S. Just as there had been a refrain of economic deprivation in their criticisms of Cuban life, they stressed economic opportunity in their new lives.

As for racism, no one we spoke with thought it was a real problem.

One large black woman said, "In the Cuban newspapers they said that those of us of color who came here would be grabbed by the Ku Klux Klan. I am black, and that hasn't happened to me."

"They told us they would separate us of color from the whites. That hasn't happened either. In my opinion, Cuba is more racist than this country."

Hearing this, Sergeant Young remarked to himself, "Yeah, but you haven't been outside the gates."

The camp already demonstrated tensions that belied the optimism of the Cubans.

When we went to the men's camp, for instance, Sergeant Young asked, "Why d'you want to go in that stiff-dick section anyway? You know, two gals from UPI came out here, but they wouldn't get out of their car in that section."

Much has been made of the fact that most of the Cubans arriving in Fort McCoy

Continued on page 8.



Cubans arrive at Eglin Air Force Base in Florida.

# Arriving like a refugee



# State

Continued from page 6.

without specifying their status. Meanwhile the Cubans may be granted some form of asylum quietly by district-level rulings of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. (While the Haitians still face full blown deportation proceedings.)

This would solve the immediate problem, with indefinite impact on immigration law and policy as it lurches toward its next crisis.

But many fear that generous treatment of the Cubans will open "floodgates" of migration, especially from Mexico and the Caribbean. The issue is particularly touchy, since many of the Cubans clearly are leaving in order to have more comfortable lives, not because of political oppression in the sense of the Refugee Act.

In economic terms, the U.S. continues to be the haven of choice for the refugees of underdevelopment, as an editorial reputedly written by Fidel Castro in a May 19 *Granma* noted: The emigrants all "wish to emigrate to the U.S. None of them wants to travel to Haiti, Santo Domingo, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, nor do they wish to travel to India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nigeria, Zaire, Gabon, the Ivory Coast, in short, to any underdeveloped nation of Latin America, Asia or Africa."

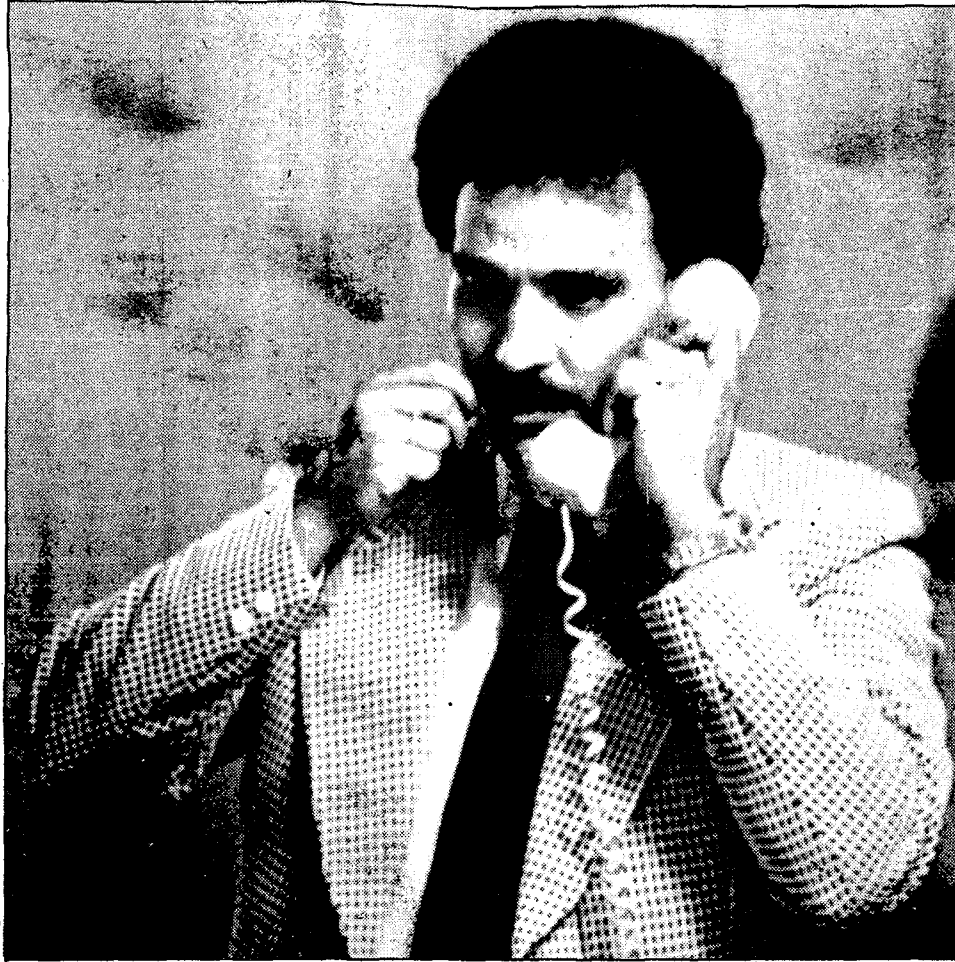
Bureaucratic compromise, sorely tested by the new wave of Cubans, may come to the rescue of foreign policy in the short run. But the roots of the problem remain.

# Welcome

Continued from page 6.

of 75"—reportedly fell to quarrelling among themselves.

In Chicago, an emergency relief committee, the *Comite pro Exiliados Cubanos*, was quickly formed. Within six weeks of the embassy incident, the group had raised \$93,000. \$50,000 of it was dispatched forthwith to the Junta in Miami, while the rest remained to be doled out in \$50 parcels to incoming Cubans through a "Human Services Commission." The Commission, staffed by volunteers, provides such services as temporary housing, clothing, jobs and medical assistance.



Eugenio Flamand, one-time national head of "proselytizing" for Abdala, is a leader in the Chicago refugee aid for arriving Cubans.

Among the *Comite's* leaders is Eugenio Flamand, an eager anti-Castroite and a member of Abdala. (Flamand served as national recruitment director for Abdala from 1976-78.) Another important member is Marcelino Miyares, who runs a successful advertising agency and is a proud-to-have-you-know-it Bay of Pigs veteran. Miyares has been busy setting up a lobbying group for a more aggressive U.S. military stance against Cuba.

Many *Comite* members, who are typically professionals or businessmen, belong to the Cuban-American Chamber of Commerce or to another coordinating body, the Illinois Federation of Cuban Organizations. Media are well-represented, through conservative Spanish-language newspapers and radio stations.

## Best bet.

Whatever the political pose and reality of organizations involved in the Human Services Commission, the Commission is still the best bet for the new Cuban arrivals in Chicago.

The traditional resort of refugees, the Catholic Charities, with whom an estimated 70 percent of the arrivals register, has no resettlement funds to offer. Catholic Charities is more than happy to pass people directly on to the Commis-

sion, which intends to hire a full-time staff person and to become a permanent entity.

The *Comite* is raising funds largely through individual donations. Many Cuban merchants have donation boxes in retail stores. (Nixon recently plunked a \$10 bill into one of them in New York, in sight of a local journalist.) Businessmen in the Cuban-American Chamber of Commerce in Chicago have also pledged a dollar a week for each of their employees. Many of their employees, of course, are non-Cuban. It is up to the employer, presumably, whether the dollar will come out of the employees' pocket or his.

When anti-Castro groups opposed visits to Cuba, they effectively also opposed the reunification of Cuban families. Now with the new arrivals, in patching together immigrants with relatives, they can once more be on the side of the angels.

They also get more out of it than image buffing. Many of the harassed and confused new arrivals find their first contacts within a set of people who are looking for anti-Castro recruits for their groups and causes. Flamand, for instance, boasted of Abdala's success in recruiting new members in the camps and at resettlement centers.

Francisco Lamas, a Junta representative from Chicago, head of the Illinois Federation of Cuban Organizations and a broker for Spanish language TV, pointed out another importance to the Junta and its work.

"We must provide an economic base for our fight," said Lamas, who was described by a local clergyman as "frozen in 1959." "We are in for a long battle. Fidel has, I am sorry to say, the help of the greatest power in the world today."

The more money the Junta can raise, the more services it can provide, the more institutionally secure it becomes, and the better able to serve a constituency whose clearly-articulated goal is to retake Cuba from Fidel and from communism.

The role of the Cuban American community in helping resettle the new arrivals is neither surprising nor unique. The Irish, Italians and the Poles, to name only a few, have all entered American society through a well-organized ethnic community with its own networks for jobs, housing and social contact.

But the present chaos of federal policy, combined with the limited variety and the highly politicized nature of Cuban-American institutions, ensures that these new arrivals will be incorporated into a reactionary environment. And at some time their benefactors may call in their chips.

# Camps

Continued from page 7.

Coy are men without families. Officials from towns nearby have expressed concern at the predominance of "sexually active males" within the barracks. A local TV station visited a nearby factory and asked workers how they felt about all those "sexually active Cuban men."

Even the Cubans' protestations of patriotism can be read different ways. When asked how he liked life at Fort McCoy, one Cuban who had been a militant anti-Castro organizer said, "We've been treated in this country as though we've been citizens for over 60 years. I am now prepared to fight for democracy anywhere in the world, to be a soldier for democracy in any Latin American society I have lived in."

Sergeant Young muttered, "Sounds like Omega-66 to me. (Omega-7 and Alpha-66 are both extremist organizations.) Gotta watch these guys. They'll get a job and buy an M-1 with their first pay check, then it's back home. We'll see their names in the papers."

Most Wisconsin resentment against the Cubans, however, seems to focus on an economic threat. One couple from Green Bay wrote the governor, "In this time of inflation, unemployment, energy deficiencies and general penny-pinching to make ends meet, when are we going to learn that we are not the scapegoat for the world and that we, the people, are frankly getting a bit tired of it?"

As yet the refugee numbers are manageable. But what happens when they hit the expected 25,000? Fort officials are apprehensive about possible friction between the Cubans and Army reservists and national guardsmen who train at Fort McCoy later in the summer. The guardsmen and reservists usually sleep in the barracks now occupied by Cuban refugees. If training proceeds on schedule this year, the guardsmen and reservists will have to sleep outside in tents. Fort officials are considering calling off military training to avoid possible friction.



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# IN THE WORLD

## ISRAEL

# Exiled West Bank mayors make their case to Americans

By Ellen Cantarow

WASHINGTON

**A**T FIRST, FORMER MAYOR Fahd Kawasme of Hebron, exiled last month from the West Bank, could express only an outraged sorrow when asked about the bombings that maimed two of his fellow mayors June 2. "Significance?" he sighed. "What significance? Our friend, Bassam al Shaka, the mayor of Nablus, lost two legs. Our friend, Mayor Khalaf [of Ramallah] also lost a foot." But then, Kawasme and his fellow exile, former Mayor Muhammad Milhem of Halhoul (a farmtown near Hebron) in a private interview June 4 in Washington blamed the Israeli government for the June 2 actions.

Among other things, Kawasme mentioned a chilling warning given to Shaka about six months ago by former defense minister Ezer Weizman. Kawasme said that Weizman summoned Shaka to his Tel Aviv office and told him, "If you continue in your activities, I will physically harm you."

The mayors cited no direct evidence of official Israeli involvement in the June 2 bombings. But they blamed the Begin government for creating a climate in which West Bank settlers have been free to engage in acts of terror and vandalism. Kawasme pointed to the killing a year ago of two Palestinian teenagers in Halhoul by an Israeli soldier and a settler. The Israelis charged in the incident, which took place during a demonstration in the town, were imprisoned and then released. "No one ever punished them," said Kawasme bitterly. "Residents of Kiryat Arba [the West Bank Israeli settlement next to Hebron] cut more than 500 grape trees in May [1979]. In Hebron a group of Kiryat Arba residents entered the town and broke in 25 houses and beat the people. [Settlers] also destroyed cars in Halhoul and Ramallah. No one punished them. They are, then, free to kill the Arab people. This is the result of the policy of the government."

Kawasme drew a parallel between the June 2 bombings and the massacre, April 19, 1948, of 250 Arabs in the village of Deir Yassin, by Israeli commandos. At the time, Menachem Begin headed the Irgun, one of two Zionist terrorist groups (the other was the Lehi, or Stern Gang) that were directly responsible for the crime. "When we speak of terrorists, we know what Mr. Begin did in Dir Yassin as head of the Irgun. Mr. Begin is now the prime minister, and he has been given the peace prize," said Kawasme caustically.

The mayors were in Washington to begin a campaign to sway American public opinion towards Palestinian rights and a Palestinian homeland. Earlier they had addressed the UN Security Council, where a unanimous vote was taken (the U.S. abstaining) to return the two to their homes. (Milhem and Kawasme were deported without charge or trial after an attack on Jewish settlers returning from religious services in Hebron. The U.S. State Department immediately declared the mayors were not connected with the assaults and asserted they had been denied "appeal procedures normally available under prevailing law.")

Kawasme and Milhem are both considered by Western diplomats to be the most moderate of the mayors on the Palestinian Guidance Committee. Kawas-

me, a softspoken man in his early 40s, not only has good relations with the PLO and Jordan, but is considered a moderate by the Israeli military government. Milhem, 51, a handsome, muscular man of charismatic personal presence, and also an arresting speaker, has been described by a high Israeli military source as the West Bank leader with the greatest potential for national leadership.

Both men argued that their political standing is precisely the reason for their expulsion. "They don't want moderates talking about real peace," said Kawasme, adding that such spokespeople give real credibility to a dialogue that Begin has never really wanted. They asserted that the Begin government is pushing for the elimination of the mayoral leadership as a whole in the West Bank (there are 25 mayors in all).

"Our deportation and now the bombings are major harassments to our people, who will [react with] more protests, whether by statements or strikes or demonstrations or throwing stones or by militant actions," said Milhem in his dry, emphatic fashion. "We are practicing a human right in rejecting and resisting occupation. In Europe, under the Nazi occupation, Tito, Charles De Gaulle, and all the freedom fighters were never called terrorists. The real terrorist is the settler who killed the boy and girl of Halhoul. The real terrorist is the governor of Tulkarm who killed the boy in Anabta," he continued, referring to the murder of an Arab youth this past spring.

Both mayors smiled wryly when asked their feelings about a State Department denunciation of the bombings. "The American administration condemned the bombings, but the bombs came from the U.S. arsenal," said Milhem acidly, referring to U.S. aid to Israel (\$1.78 billion for fiscal year 1980). "They say they are against settlements, but in the meantime, they give millions of dollars [to build] the settlements." (\$150 million has been budgeted for West Bank settlements for fiscal 1980.)

Both men have consistently accepted an Israeli state along the pre-1967 war borders, while calling for a Palestinian state. Milhem continues his support for a two-state solution, but disavows the autonomy talks as a means of achieving this. "Under the autonomy, the Israeli army will remain in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip," he said, "and the right of Jews to settle [there] will remain effective." Under autonomy Israelis would still head the area's major ministries and departments, including the office of Abandoned and State Property, which controls lands confiscated for settlements. "No Palestinian is pro-autonomy," said Milhem flatly. "No one will bear the historic responsibility for liquidating the cause of his own people. That would be high treason."

### The synagogue.

Later the same day the mayors addressed a heavily-policed crowd of around 400 people at a Washington synagogue. They shared the platform with Chaim Bar Am, executive committee member of Israel's dovish Sheli Party. The two sat looking with calm pensiveness over the audience as the session opened, tumultuously, with the explosion of smoke bombs and shouting by hecklers who tried to stop the panelists from speaking. But the audience finally listened silently to both men. "We are here in a Jewish holy place," began Kawasme, "and all of us, Jews and Christians and Muslims, believe in this, that it is the place of God." More ur-



West Bank mayors and city officials staged a sit-down last November to protest the jailing of Bassam al Shaka, the Nablus mayor who lost two legs in the recent bombings.

gently, Kawasme described repression in the West Bank, and finally implored, his arms outstretched, "What mistake have we [the mayors] made? Because we ask for self-determination? We are moderates. We only want our freedom. Every nation has that right. The problem of the Palestinians is a problem of a home-

land. You, especially as Jews, must understand our feeling."

Milhem described a march on his town by about 60 armed followers of Gush Emunim. "It was a day on which Halhoul young people were demonstrating," he said. He descended from his office to protect "both Jews and Arabs from harm," and asked the settlers to leave. "I invited them to return another time. I said, 'You are guests in Halhoul.'" "What guests?" screamed a heckler in the audience, "Judea and Samaria [Gush Emunim and ultra-nationalist Jewish terms for the West Bank] are ours!" "I don't believe," rejoined Milhem calmly with a slight smile, "that you were there." He was applauded by the majority of the audience.

Later Milhem called for "preserving the lives and the futures of Jews and Arabs," adding, "The absence of a Palestinian state is the danger to Israel, not the presence of one."

Chaim Bar Am recalled that in addressing the audience he was absenting himself from "an anniversary of sorts. On June 5, 13 years ago, my wife's arm was blown off by a Jordanian shell in Jerusalem. When I saw in the paper the picture of Bassam Shaka with both legs amputated, that memory came back vividly. I share [his] human suffering with the conviction [that we must] strive toward peace in Israel." Admitting that his party represented a minority opinion in Israel, Bar Am nevertheless said that the party represented a significant sector of Israeli youth opinion, and declared that the party is "fully prepared to have a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza alongside Israel."

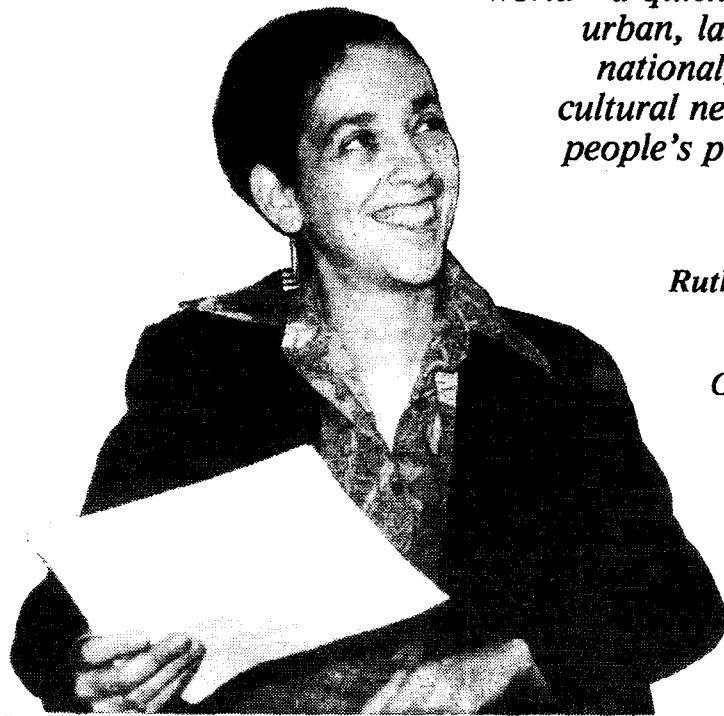
The audience heckled, crying, "Assassins! Murderers!" when the mayors refused to dissociate themselves from the PLO, but applauded when Kawasme and Milhem called for peace. Barbara Bick, of the Ad Hoc Committee for Middle East Dialogue, which sponsored the evening, called it a success. "There has never been another time when Palestinian mayors have spoken together with an Israeli in an American synagogue," she said.

Bar Am later said he expects that "eventually there will be a Palestinian state. It will be the same as Rhodesia," he added. "You can't prevent history from taking its course."

Parts of the article first appeared in the *Boston Globe* and in the *Real Paper*, for which Ellen Cantarow is a columnist.

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# Unions

Continued from page 4.

union members in the community." The NLRB protects jobs before individual rights.

## A tight rein.

A few days after the court decision, there was a meeting of the carpenters union in Port Jefferson, Long Island. Union president George Babcock read a prepared statement saying that Judge Weinstein had requested him to tell all members that they were free to make complaints, to speak out, even if contrary to union policy, and that no one would be punished for doing so.

There was some snickering in the audience, according to one member, who is still not reassured. "At least a couple of dozen men have found it hard to obtain employment because of their statements or actions that were against the clique in power," he told me. "They keep a pretty tight rein on things." He thinks John Everett was fired for testifying in the Shoreham trial, but he won't say so in court. "If I took the stand for John, it would go against me; I'd be washed up."

Like Ostrowski, Everett is an example to other workers: dissenters will lose their

jobs. John Everett says there are some workers now who won't talk to him or be seen with him. Some workers are afraid to talk to reporters or have their names published. They claim that union officials use spies, and believe their telephones are tapped. Those who do come forward—to the NRC or the media—do so at risk.

Despite the union's picture of tolerance, some witnesses for John Everett's defense were afraid to testify. According to Everett's attorneys, Arthur Schwartz and Barry Scheck, one witness was told he'd be fired if he testified. Another was told to take a vacation and another begged Everett not to ask him to testify. On the stand, Everett said that he received four or five calls after the Shoreham trial from workers who told him about other kinds of construction problems at the plant. Several of them were afraid of recriminations and refused to tell him their names. He passed on their information to the NRC.

The carpenters union has much at stake at Shoreham. In addition to providing jobs for a union whose members are underemployed (only about one-half of the membership is employed) and suffer long layoffs, the plant is supporting the union's welfare fund. LILCO pays 75 percent of the union's employee benefits for Shoreham workers. Shoreham is one of the biggest construction projects on Long Island. It is no surprise that the union has an official policy in favor of nuclear power, which union president Babcock promulgates at union meetings.

The union's pro-nuclear policy is reflected in the investments of its welfare fund: in 1976 and 1977, the fund held several hundred thousand shares in utility companies that own nuclear power

plants and hundreds of shares in such reactor manufacturers as General Electric.

Although Babcock reminded members of their First Amendment rights at the January meeting, jobs are the bottom line: everyone knows John Everett was out of work for seven months and he was a steward, a union official, and he had, as they say, good connections. He also tried to change the leadership: last June he was campaign manager for eight candidates running against the Babcock slate. But the union demands conformity, no matter who you are. "If I went to church on Sundays and prayed to George Babcock," says John Everett, "I'd still have a job."

Susan Jaffe has written on nuclear issues for *Ms.* and *The Village Voice*, where an earlier version of this article first appeared.

Contributions to Richard Ostrowski's defense may be sent c/o the Center for Constitutional Rights, 853 Broadway, New York, NY 10003.

# Heritage

Continued from page 5.

recruit speakers (that is, Kirkland) and panelists, and help develop conference materials. Regarding the latter, Sheets wrote: "Milton Copoulos of the Heritage Foundation is—God save us all—preparing a theme handbook for the conference." Also, the trades were asked for \$20,000 for conference support. On May 19, Georgine sent letters to the general presidents requesting \$1,000 from each union that urged their support while ad-

mitting that some of the conference sponsors were not exactly friendly toward labor's goals.

When asked about the trades' cooperation with the likes of Heritage and the contractors' associations, union officials cite the need for an effective energy policy. "The government's failure to decide on a sound energy program is worse than no decision," said Sheets. He added that given the current "crisis," the union was "comfortable" cooperating with Heritage to advocate development of a sound energy program, but once the details of such a program were nailed down, the unions and their foes would "return to their normal postures of snarling bulldogs."

Judging by past records, it seems unlikely that the unions' accommodations will reverse the trend toward open shop construction, union-busting, or continuing opposition to labor law reform and workplace health and safety. And even if the corporations and New Right begin to institute a hands-off policy toward the unions, it is questionable whether their energy plans—nuclear and synthetic fuel development—are in the best interests of the trades' memberships. The growing body of data that Georgine referred to in his July 1979 letter to the nuclear industry (which included studies from the Sheet Metal Workers International Association, one of the unions in the Building and Construction Trades Development), indicate that the real potential for employment in the energy arena lies with conservation and solar energy development.

The trades' leadership may find their plans going awry if local bargaining rights continue to be weakened and membership continues to decline at a time when the burgeoning solar, conservation and synfuels industries need to be organized. Already, contracts for the first few pilot synfuels plants have gone to non-union firms. And the trend is equally ominous in the South, where 25 of 50 nuclear reactors being constructed by private utilities are open shop.

The trades have never been shy about giving advice on sleeping with the devil. In a special report on right-to-work legislation, it reminded members how anti-labor zealots have a nasty habit of hiding behind single-issue groups: "Take a close look at some of the candidates these single-issue groups support. Sure, you may agree with them on one issue. But don't be shocked when they arrive in the Senate and vote against Davis-Bacon, OSHA, Common Situs, Labor Law Reform, and every other bill to help working families."

Perhaps the leadership should heed their own advice. **Maureen Weaver is a Washington writer who formerly worked as press officer for the Citizens Party.**



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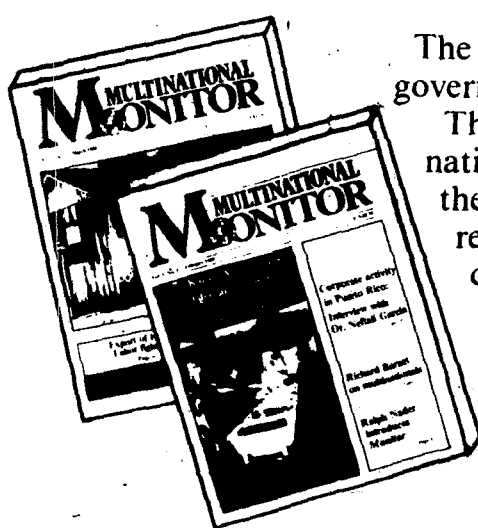
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## EUROPE

# France cold-shoulders Polish Pope

One Paris paper made a killing by putting camphor and incense in the printing ink to give its special issue on the Pope "an odor of sanctity."

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

**T**HE CHARISMA WAS SUPPOSED to draw a flock much too big to fit into any of Paris' spacious squares or malls. So John Paul II's Sunday, June 1, mass, high point of the Papal visit to France, was set out on the mournful plain of Bourget airport, space enough to accommodate the 1,200,000 faithful that local ecclesiastics predicted would attend. But of that number, fully one million failed to turn up.

Television cameras discreetly lowered their eyes to blot out the empty horizons, commentators refrained politely from estimating the size of the crowds. The media did their best to whip up sanctimonious enthusiasm. Karol Wojtyla, like the real pro he is, put on a splendid performance regardless of the audience, unperturbed by the sour expressions of the French churchmen at his side or the light scuffle for communal wafers that broke out between mentally retarded children herded to the event by their benefactors. But after four days of heroic exertions, blessings, speeches, embraces, it was obvious that John Paul II Superstar left the French as indifferent as he found them.

France, "the eldest daughter of the Church" as the Pope kept calling her in memory of the good old days, is obviously off living her own life with no intention of going back home.

Even the weather was unwelcoming. In France, the Pope had only to appear for the sun to stop shining and a cold windy rain to start to fall. But the droves who stayed away could not foresee the discomfort they were missing, and days before the Bourget mass, word began to get out from travel agencies that the special trains to bring the pilgrims from the provinces were one by one being quietly cancelled as nobody signed up for the trip. Even Catholic Brittany stayed home. The only notable influx was from the eastern regions where Polish immigrants have settled. Poles rallied fervently around their Pope in alien France.

History—the enlightenment, the revolution, the long battle of anticlerical republicanism to wrest education from the church—has produced at least one country where people don't feel they have to pretend to be religious when they're not. Among Parisians, the idea of the Pope visiting produced more hilarity than anything else. The *daily Liberation* made a newsstand killing by putting camphor and incense in the printing ink to give its special Pope issue "an odor of sanctity" it certainly would not have had otherwise.

A few people seemed less amused, even sulen. These were mostly France's small minority of serious Christians. John Paul II is clearly not their kind of Pope. His half fellow Hollywood he-



"This is my eldest daughter."

man style rubs them the wrong way. He is not authoritarian enough for die-hard reactionaries, Bishop Lefebvre style, but he is much too conservative in his theology and social philosophy for the progressive wing.

## The Polish factor.

Many are annoyed by what they see as his confusion between Christian faith and Polish patriotism. "Poles have used Catholicism to assert themselves against Protestant Germany, against Orthodox Russia and now against Communist rule, but when they get beyond that, they'll experience a crisis of religious faith just like everybody else," a religious historian commented.

John Paul II was preceded by reports that he had complained he "couldn't understand the French." This seems likely. Overlooking the intellectual contributions of French Catholicism, the Pope dropped in on the "Chapel of the Miraculous Medal" in Paris and then made a special pilgrimage to the basilica at Lisieux, both places where the exceedingly simple faith and "miraculous" visions of young novices have subsequently promoted the sale of countless trinkets. Does John Paul II hope that this kind of popular belief can revive French Catholicism? It is true that magic, today, has more devotees than Christianity, but the Miraculous Medal cannot compete with astrology or even spiritualism.

Many French commentators expressed disapproval of the current Pope's use of show business techniques. One of the best-known Catholic liberals, Jean-Marie Domenach, pointed out that a star was not the same thing as a prophet. He warned against the illusion of imagining that "the Church can triumph today on the wreckage of ideologies of liberation. The agony of revolutionary hope is not what will resuscitate God in the hearts of West Europeans, in a society...the farthest removed from Christianity that has ever existed, but with which the Church manages to get along, all things considered, fairly well."

## The worker priests.

Domenach recalled that in the past, the Vatican has repressed "the most living part of the Church of France: the worker priests, Catholic Youth Action, the Jesuit and Dominican schools." There is apprehension today among France's so-

cially involved Catholics that they are in for another hard time with the jovial Pole.

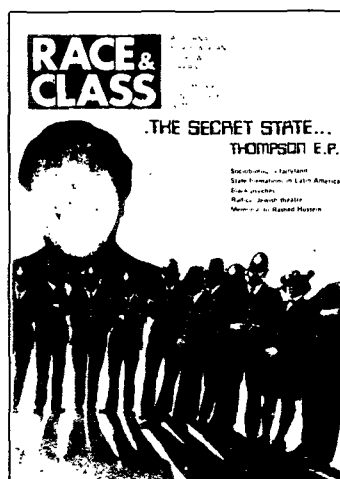
The Pope was greeted at the Chapel of the Miraculous Medal by Sister Danielle Souillard, who explained that she and her sisters had left the nun's habit for ordinary dress in order to "serve the underprivileged and share the life of working people." The Pope retorted that "the time has come to live in fidelity to the Lord and to your apostolic tasks."

Among the gothic pillars and marble tombs of the Kings of France in the basilica of Saint Denis, heart of the communist "red belt" north of Paris, the Pope was treated to a sort of folk mass, with young men and women, black and white, in blue jeans and strumming guitars, called attention to working people's problems: unemployment, eviction and (for the large population of immigrant workers) expulsion from the country. Because of the profit system. "Jesus Christ, forgive us our lack of boldness, forgive us priests when we bear false witness among working people, forgive us each time the Church appears to be on the side of those who are confiscating property, power and knowledge."

Local Communist officials eagerly rolled out the red carpet. Some of the French Communist Party's best friends are Christians, and the PCF consistently seeks common ground with socially committed clergy men and women. The Socialist Party, more attached to the lay traditions of French republicanism, was far more standoffish.

The most frightening mob scene around the visiting Pontiff took place at the Elysee Palace, when the usual rain forced a presidential garden party into salons where a number of Giscard's select guests fainted or jumped out of windows to keep from being trampled in the stampede of political leaders eager to be photographed with His Holiness. The winner of this flashbulb derby, according to surviving witnesses, was PCF boss Georges Marchais.

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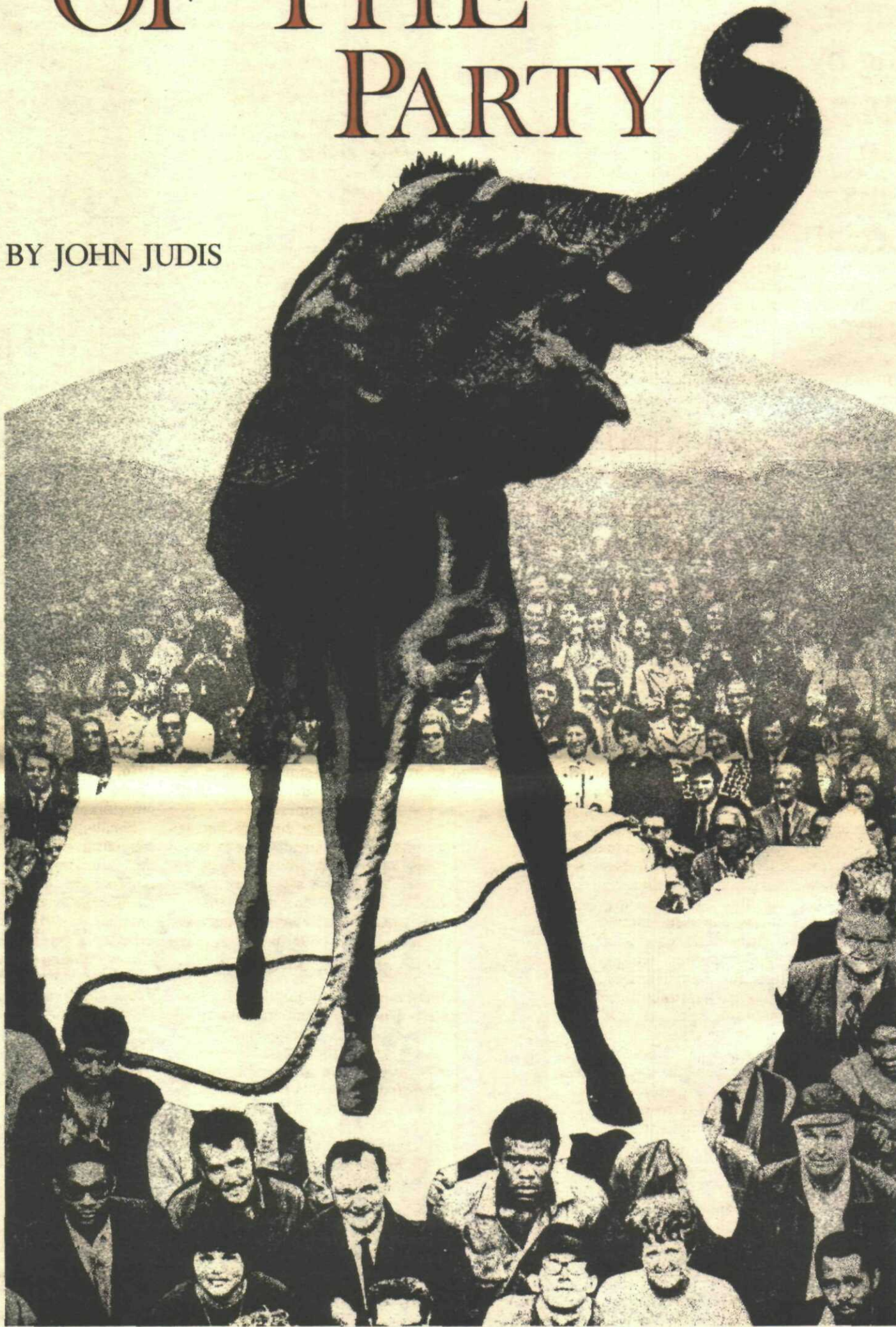
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A-028



# DEATH OF THE PARTY

BY JOHN JUDIS



Poul Merrill

**W**ITH JIMMY CARTER, Ronald Reagan, and John Anderson now the main contestants in November's election, it is, perhaps, appropriate to ask who is preferable among them. Does Anderson's strong stand on the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion rights outweigh his economic conservatism? Is Reagan correct when he says that a timid, vacillating Carter is more likely to cause a world war than a dedicated hawk like himself? Or is Carter, finally, the only candidate who will preserve even a modicum of social justice?

These questions will be debated through the fall. But it may be more appropriate now to discuss the thornier, more depressing questions about American politics.

•Why did the presidential primaries again feature low turnouts, especially in

•Why was campaigning again dominated by imagery rather than substance?

•Why was there such receptivity to outdated economic ideas?

•And why, after the dust has cleared, do American voters again face a dismal, limited choice among candidates? While these candidates might disagree on abortion rights or SALT II, they fundamentally agree that oil companies should be allowed to raise their prices as high as the market will bear, that defense spending should be substantially increased—even at the expense of social programs—that business needs more tax subsidies and less regulation, and that government should not interfere with the operations of multinational corporations.

The answers to these questions cannot be found merely in the events of 1980. The same questions could reasonably have been asked in 1976. They are really

American politics. They require an examination of the underlying trends in political history this last century.

There are political scientists who have concerned themselves with these questions—most notably, the late E.E. Schattschneider and MIT professor Walter Dean Burnham. Schattschneider and Burnham have located two undercurrents in American political history that help explain the present.

The first is the process of political realignment. The U.S. now seems to be in transition between dominant political coalitions. The pervading confusion among voters and the calculated evasion of key issues by the candidates resembles the 1840s and early 1850s; the extent of voter disaffection resembles the 1920s.

The second undercurrent is what Burnham describes as the "atrophy of the party system." According to Burnham, this decline

over the last 15 years. If it continues, it will trivialize the realignment process—reducing it to a debate among elites—and spell the effective end of American democracy.

The American party system resists change. With its two-party emphasis on compromise and consensus, it tends to absorb extremes into broader coalitions and mute their message. Critical realignments of dominant political coalitions have occurred only when the conservative political system can no longer contain capitalism's revolutionary propensity to transform classes and regions. Burnham describes the realignment process as "America's surrogate for revolution."

Major realignments occurred in 1828, 1860, 1896, 1932 and 1964.

•The "Jacksonian Revolution" of 1828 reflected the westward expansion of American capitalism and the obsolescence of Federalist restrictions on credit



•The emergence of the Republican Party in 1856 and Abraham Lincoln's victory in 1860 reflected the growing clash between the free market and plantation economies. The Republican coalition developed because the existing major parties were unwilling to address the issue of slavery expansion in the West.

•William McKinley's victory over William Jennings Bryan in 1896 destroyed the Populist farmer-laborer alliance against emerging corporate capitalism. It established the Democrats as a minority party of the white South and disgruntled West and the Republicans as the majority party of Northern industrialization. It cut short the development of left-right, working class-capitalist class division in American politics.

•Franklin Roosevelt's victory in 1932 and his initiation of the New Deal reflected the failure of capitalist self-regulation. As the new party of labor, minorities and corporate capital, the Democrats began to use limited, purely quantitative government intervention to stimulate investment and demand and cushion the working class against the hardships of the business cycle. After World War II, the Democrats integrated the Cold War crusade into their political outlook, becoming a party of free trade, foreign aid, anti-communism, and increased defense spending.

•Barry Goldwater's nomination as the Republican candidate in 1964 signalled the shift of Republican power from the Northeast to the newly-prospering Sunbelt. Goldwater Republicans broke the Democratic hold on the South at the same time as they drove any remaining blacks and Northern liberals into the Democratic Party. The Goldwater realignment reflected not only the rapid growth of medium-sized non-union industry in the South and West, but also the Democratic consolidation of the welfare state in response to the civil rights movement.

The 1964 realignment did not create a substantially new majority coalition, only an enlarged one. This Cold War liberal coalition—epitomized in Lyndon Johnson's simultaneous pursuit of the Vietnam War and the War on Poverty—began to come apart at the seams almost as it was being stitched together.

Like other dominant coalitions, this one was intended to ride a wave of capitalist expansion. But in the late '60s, American capitalism began to falter. GNP and productivity growth slowed to half their previous rates. Real wages declined from 1973 to 1980. Inflation and unemployment reached post-World War II peaks. And the dollar lost its absolute supremacy in international money markets.

There were immediate causes for the decline—the damage done to the American economy by the Vietnam war and the rise of OPEC—but there was a more fundamental cause rooted in the very assumptions of Cold War liberal capitalism. American free trade, foreign aid, and multinational corporate expansion had helped create surplus industrial capacity in the capitalist world. Together, the U.S., a rebuilt Europe and Japan, and a newly industrialized Third World were producing more of such basic commodities as steel, automobiles, ships, and textiles than consumers were able to purchase.

This problem of surplus capacity intensified international competition and put some older American industries at a disadvantage. In the U.S., corporate profits did not go down, but banks and corporations became increasingly unwilling to invest them in the expansion and revitalization of American industry. When they were invested productively, it was often not in the energy-poor, unionized North but in the Sunbelt states and in Third World countries like Mexico and Taiwan.

This decline in American capitalism undermined both liberal policy and politics. It made limited, quantitative state intervention obsolete. There is no longer any assurance that government subsidies to business will be used for domestic investment. (John Kennedy's investment tax credit became the "runaway shop bill.") Government bailouts of faltering banks and industries, without specific controls over new investments, tend to

deepen the economic crisis rather than alleviate it.

On a political level, the decline has made business leaders far less tolerant of unions, government spending that does not directly benefit them, and government regulation of industry. The same business leaders have become far more tolerant of high unemployment, which diminishes labor's bargaining power. This pronounced shift in business attitude—symbolized by the corporate liberal Business Roundtable's decision to oppose labor law reform—has undermined the alliance between liberal business and the AFL-CIO, which was at the heart of the old coalition.

The decline has also exacerbated the tensions between white and minority workers over affirmative action, aid to cities, and welfare. And it has heightened divisions between the North and the Sunbelt.

In short, it has created a situation where liberal politicians can no longer keep the kind of promises that bound together their diverse constituencies. They must either avoid making promises altogether (Carter and Governor Jerry Brown in the 1976 primaries) or risk charges of betrayal, when conflicting domestic and international pressures force them to alter their course or do nothing.



**T**HE 1980 ELECTION CAMPAIGN reflected the tenuous character of the '64 realignment: the continuing consolidation of the Republicans as a minority party and decay of the Democrats as a majority party without the emergence of any clear majority alternative to the Cold War liberal consensus. Voter dissatisfaction with the choices and skepticism about whether any choice would make a difference was captured by a riddle making the rounds in San Francisco on the eve of the June 4 primary: "Carter, Reagan, and Kennedy are in a rowboat that capsizes in the middle of a huge lake. Who gets saved?" The answer was "the country."

Ronald Reagan's nomination is the final triumph of Goldwater Republicanism. Burnham describes Reagan as Goldwater's "apostolic successor." The Republican Party, as constituted, has its center of gravity in upwardly mobile upper-middle income white Protestants in the Sunbelt. Its principles, derived ironically from liberal ideas, express the narrow self-interest of a regional elite. This will condemn the Republicans to minority party status except when they can capitalize on a weak opponent and diversionary issues. In 1980 this may happen.

Jimmy Carter's bitter primary battle with Senator Edward Kennedy reflected the continuing deterioration of the Democratic Party. It pitted the leaders of the Democratic left against the center and right. Unlike previous splits in the '70s, it was on economic policy rather than foreign policy or social issues. And it suggested a regional split in the party between the Northeast and the South. In these respects, the Carter-Kennedy feud within the party augured a future realignment of the Democrats.

But it did so only in the most tentative manner. Kennedy initially defied his labor-Northern liberal base and campaigned on his allegedly superior leadership abilities. He only shifted to substantive issues after he was defeated in the Iowa caucuses. His presentation of these issues tended to be timid and, at times, purely rhetorical. Faced with the challenge that such proposals as wage-price-profit controls might infringe upon the liberal consensus, he drew back, assuring his audiences that the controls would be only temporary and would be supplemented by corporate tax breaks.

Carter, of course, did what he could to divert the public from considering whatever differences on economic policy existed between himself and Kennedy.

He played the Iran card for all its worth—right down to his incredibly stupid rescue attempt. And his artful commercials subtly targeted Kennedy's character as the main issue for the campaign.

While voter turnout in the contested Republican primaries increased, voter turnout in the Democratic primaries declined even below 1976 lows. Overall, turnout was roughly the same as the 28 percent in 1976.

The increase in Republican voters is largely the result of Anderson's candidacy, which caused many Independents and Democrats to cross over or re-register. The Democratic decline seems to have been concentrated among urban and blue-collar Democrats, who were unwilling to buy Reagan's militarism and tax cuts, but saw no positive alternatives among the Democratic nominees.

In summary, the parties are now stalemated. The Republicans are unable to build a stable majority, and the Democrats are unable to maintain theirs. As was true in the 1850s, both parties are largely skirting the central economic issues. When they can, they rely on foreign policy, personality, and social issues to rally their forces; when they cannot, they fall back on fake nostrums like the Kemp-Roth tax cut.

The realignment crisis is not, however, the only factor shaping American politics today. It is interwoven with a decline in politics itself, which dates back to 1896.

In a 1965 essay, Burnham showed how presidential and off-year election turnouts dropped precipitously from the 19th to 20th century. From 1848 to 1896, presidential turnout averaged about 75 percent, with only a 10 percent drop in off years. From 1900 to 1960, turnout averaged 60 percent, with a 25 percent drop in off years. In the last two presidential elections, turnout has been around 55 percent, with only a 35 percent turnout in 1976 and 1978.

The turnout is increasingly skewed toward those in upper-income brackets. A recent study of the 1972 election found voter participation among those in upper-income brackets about twice that of those with lower incomes.

In the 20th century, the U.S. has become, in Schattschneider's words, a "broadly-based oligarchy." Pre-realignment stalemated or evasions have aggravated this shift, but do not explain it.

There are three developments in American politics after 1896 that do help explain it:

•The 1896 election, as noted, substituted a regionally-based politics for a class politics. The subsequent lack of a major working-class party—made even less likely by the split in the American socialist movement after the Russian Revolution—has left huge numbers of Americans without adequate representation and has contributed to their disaffection from party politics.

•The Progressive reform movement of the early 20th century destroyed community-based politics by instituting at-large elections, strong mayor or city manager governments and non-partisan ballots. As historian James Weinstein has shown, this movement, in the name of "the people," eliminated working-class political candidates in favor of representatives sanctioned by downtown elites. It weakened local parties, which had been based in wards, and discouraged popular interest in elections.

•The late 19th century marked the beginnings of American corporate capitalism and the emergence of the U.S. as a world power. The new corporate elite sought to shield key economic and foreign policy decisions from public debate by lodging them, when necessary, in the executive branch of government and in quasi-independent bodies like the Federal Reserve Board. As a result, party politics became increasingly divorced from policy-formation and the central issues that American capitalism faced.

Each of these developments discouraged political participation, especially among the working class. Collectively, they produced a political system in which upper-income groups periodically legitimated the machinations of a corporate elite. In the present period, from 1964 to 1980, this process has, if anything, accelerated.



**B**Y ITSELF, THE BREAKDOWN of the party system has certain positive aspects. There was certainly nothing wonderful about party boss control over nominations—witness Warren Harding's nomination in 1920 or Hubert Humphrey's nomination in 1968. But in the context of liberal collapse and disillusionment, it has further corrupted the political process.

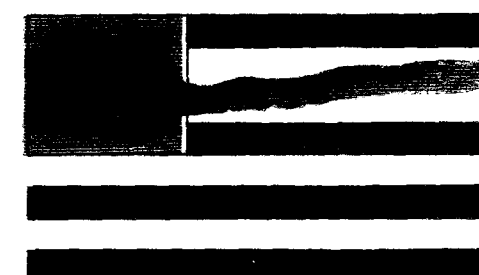
Compared to European parties, American parties have never played a vital role in policy formation, but what role existed was sundered by the Progressive reforms and the growth of executive branch authority over key economic and foreign policy decisions.

In the 20th century, American parties also ceased to play any educational role. If anything, their role has been to mis-educate: to substitute, where possible, hysteria for reason and social issues for economic ones; to avoid any frank discussion of American domestic or foreign objectives; and to peddle old laissez-faire doctrine while in practice departing from its tenets. The upshot of this miseducation is the oft-cited disparity between "ideological" and "operational" beliefs: the public willingness to support many of the specifics of state intervention, but not its principles.

During the Progressive Era, the introduction of the primary system of non-partisan elections removed party from many local elections. The widespread introduction of presidential primaries after the 1968 election eliminated the party's function in selecting national candidates. And election finance reforms weakened the party's hold over campaigns. Since 1976, the parties have had a purely *pro forma* role in electing candidates and running campaigns.

Finally, with the breakdown of liberal capitalism and of the liberal consensus, the majority party no longer is capable of unifying the electorate. Since 1964, the Democrats have suffered one split after another. In 1976, Carter temporarily unified the party leaders and defused the George Wallace threat by skirting substantive issues and running a campaign based on honesty and religiosity. But in 1980, both the divisions within the leadership and the disaffection within the party's base have reappeared with a vengeance.

This means that the majority party in American politics has become a virtually meaningless institution. It has no role in policy-formation, public education, candidate selection, or ideological unification. It is a purely ceremonial entity, like the British monarchy.



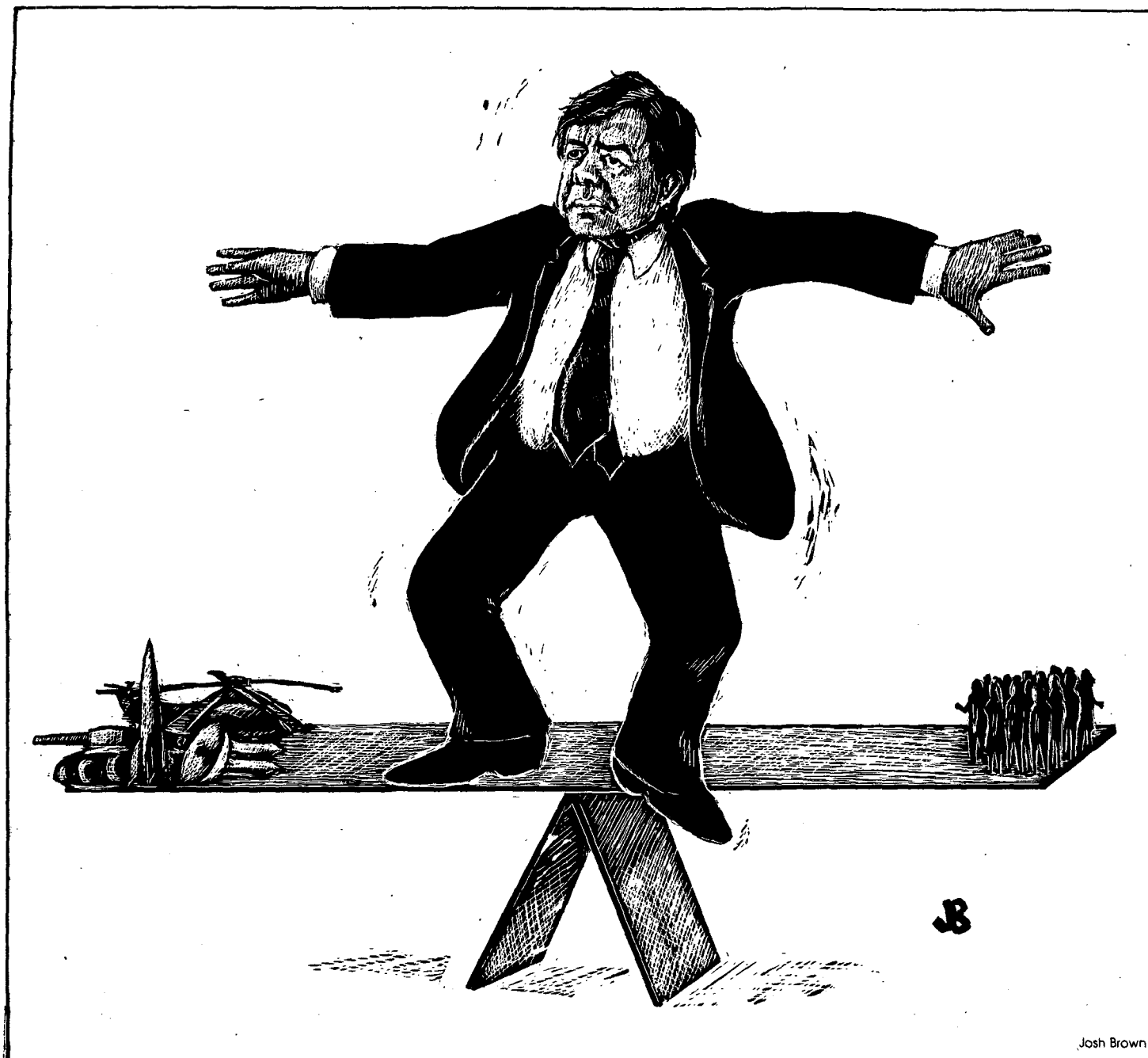
**T**HE DECLINE IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION has been accompanied by a decline in the party system itself. Parties have historically been agents of policy formation and public education; they have selected and run candidates for office; and they have unified ideologically diverse regions or groups on behalf of a majority theme or approach. In the 20th century, American parties have progressively ceased to perform these functions.

Without a political theme or set of issues to unite the electorate, politicians have increasingly relied on creating attractive personal images and on ambiguous appeals. Without a party apparatus and ward organization to round up the faithful—indeed, without the faithful themselves—they have increasingly relied

Continued on page 22.



## EDITORIAL



## Great budget-balancing act presented by public enemies

In presenting the Congressional Black Caucus' legislative agenda of 1980 to the House, Representative Cardiss Collins (D-Ill.), chairwoman of the Caucus, charged that neither Congress nor the administration has moved to implement policies that might resolve the economic crisis facing this country. The number one priority of the Caucus agenda is full employment and economic priorities to remove the disparities for black Americans and "to improve the economic condition of all Americans who have suffered economic oppression." To do this, the Caucus said, it will be necessary to prepare a comprehensive plan that specifies "policies and projects in each economic sector for investments" and job-creating activities that will not increase prices. This can be done only in the context of a congressional budget resolution that provides adequate funds for domestic social programs that will create jobs, the Caucus said.

But the administration's budget proposal, and the budget resolutions of both houses of Congress march off in the opposite direction. Under the pressure of an election year, in which an aggressive foreign policy stance has served to cover up the miserable failures of domestic policies, Carter has submitted an initially "balanced" budget that cuts spending for many vital social programs and substantially increases military spending. The House and Senate conference agreement on the budget goes Carter one better and allocates even more money for the military.

The rationale for these budget proposals is two-fold: First, that the situation in Iran and the Soviet move into Af-

ghanistan create a military threat to the U.S. Second, that a balanced budget is the best way to fight inflation, which is a major priority.

Both premises are false. It is already clear that the balanced budget will be abandoned by the Carter administration before election day. And military spending, too, may be soft-pedaled, temporarily, out of political calculation. It is true that the situation in Iran is a threat to American influence and power both in the Middle East and in the Third World in general. But the threat cannot be overcome by military means. The argument that greater military power is needed to protect our supplies of oil from the Middle East is absurd. Any military intervention in the oil-producing regions would lead to sabotage of wells and pipelines that could not be defended against and that would disrupt oil production for years to come.

As for the Soviet "threat" in Afghanistan, it has become clear that even the Soviets realize it was a mistake. Far from creating a threat of further expansion in the region, the invasion has weakened the Soviet's relations with the Third World, undermined Cuba's position as a leader of the Non-aligned nations and threatened to bog the Russians down in a Vietnam-style guerrilla war. More than

anything else, the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan has prevented the Russians from taking full advantage of the situation in Iran. In short, neither the Iranian situation nor the Soviet presence in Afghanistan is a valid reason for increased spending on arms.

The goal of a balanced budget, on the other hand is one that socialists can support with enthusiasm—but only if the budget is balanced by cutting back military spending and other subsidies to the giant corporations. Unbalanced budgets, though sometimes used in the short run to help finance social services, are ultimately paid for by working Americans, whose taxes are used to pay interest on government securities to banks and other corporate bond holders.

### The budget and inflation.

But balancing the budget, no matter how it is done, will have little impact on inflation. Indeed, the Congressional Budget Office itself says that a \$15 billion cut in spending (the amount requested in Carter's budget proposal) would reduce inflation by no more than two-tenths of a percent over three years. Past experience bears this out. During the last years of the Ford administration a record budget deficit of \$111.6 was accompanied by a reduction in inflation to 4.8 percent, while

during the past two years when the budget deficit was half that amount, the rate of inflation tripled.

Most of the increase in prices—three-quarters of the total, according to testimony by Carter's own inflation fighter Alfred Kahn—has been due to the cost of oil and the government imposed increases in the cost of credit. But this aside, both Carter's and Congress' proposed balanced budgets will actually increase inflation because military expenditures are the most inflationary form of government spending. They are inflationary because they increase consumer demand without increasing the supply of consumer goods. In addition, Defense Department contracts are often on a cost-plus basis, which leads to excess profits because it allows the contractors to load in unnecessary costs, thus giving them higher profits. For this reason, the cost of military hardware has increased more rapidly than the rate of inflation in 16 of the last 20 years. Then, too, military expenditures overseas are inflationary because they tend to weaken the dollar, thereby raising the prices of imported goods—which, in turn, encourages American corporations to raise domestic prices even further.

While arms spending is inflationary, it has relatively little impact on unemployment. For every \$1 billion invested in armaments an estimated 75,000 jobs are created. For a similar amount invested in mass transit, 93,000 new jobs are created, and for health care services 139,000 new jobs come into being. And, of course, the jobs that armaments production creates are largely for highly skilled workers, who are in short supply, not for the unskilled and semi-skilled who constitute the bulk of the unemployed, especially among blacks and other ethnic minorities.

### New priorities.

Both the president and Congress have been able to propose budgets that clearly go against the interest of the vast majority of working Americans because our politics are dominated by corporate money and media hype. Although the electorate has been steadily enlarged in this century, and particularly since the civil rights movement gains of the '60s, the higher a person's income the more likely he or she is to vote. This refusal to vote on the part of working and younger Americans is understandable, given the character of the major parties and of the leading candidates. But it should also be clear that the left has a potential majority in the U.S., one that could easily support the budget priorities of the Congressional Black Caucus, which are consistent with the goals of many major trade unions and other local and regional groupings.

To have any chance of mobilizing a substantial part of working Americans, however, the left will have to break with the liberal tradition of subordination to the profitability of the giant corporations. It will have to put forward a politics centered on social control of major investment decisions, especially in the areas of energy and health care, which are among the greatest causes of inflation, and in mass transit, which provides the only feasible way out of the energy crisis.

This is a politics that cannot succeed initially on a presidential level, but that must build through the legislative arenas that are accessible locally and with relatively limited resources. If a bloc of white representatives in the House, equal in numbers to the Black Caucus, was committed to the same priorities on the budget, a real debate would be possible. The issues are there in a way that has never before been true. They seem to be forcing their way into the arena of public debate despite the abdication of the left. At this point, that is the hope of the '80s. ■



# LETTERS

**IN THESE TIMES** is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## WHY?

**A**S OF THIS WRITING (EARLY MAY) practically all of the socialist journals (*ITT*, *The Nation*) are studiously ignoring the exodus of thousands of desperate refugees from Fidel's revolutionary paradise. The equally sensational story Carter's desert fiasco in Iran seems to have provided the cover for averting left-looking eyes from the oppressive Cuban scene.

Why are poor people always trying eagerly to enter imperialistic "Amerika" and trying desperately to leave various utopian people's republics?

—Thomas Robbins  
New Haven, Conn.

**Editor's note:** For one person's opinion on this, see Michael Rivas' column (*ITT*, May 28).

## CUBA

**I**'VE READ A FAIR AMOUNT ABOUT Cuba, and even written some about it. Thus I appreciate greatly Michael Rivas' non-doctrinaire approach (*ITT*, May 28), his effort to apply the same standards to reporting about Cuba that are applied by good journalists to any subject: determining the facts and interpreting them honestly.

I'm always dismayed when we on the left put ideology before truth.

—Richard J. Walton  
New York

## MORTARFIED

**I** WAS "MORTARFIED" BY THE PHOTOGRAPH of bricklayers veneering a building accompanying Hugh DeLacy's article about unionbusting of carpenters (*ITT*, May 21). There is already enough animosity among the trades over carpenters "stealing" other trades' work.

As a member of Bricklayers and Allied Crafts local #12, Corning, N.Y., however, I do support by brother carpenters in their struggle against unionbusting by the AGC. My own local's contract expires May 31 and is presently being negotiated. We are encountering the same unionbusting pressure from the contractors' agent, similar to AGC. Let the workers prevail!

—Peter N. Dame  
Hammondsport, N.Y.

## RATS

**A** RECENT NEWS ITEM ABOUT THE Pacific atoll of Eniwetok carried a headline that read, "Rats Thriving on A-Bomb Test Isle."

This may explain why Carter, Brzezinski, the Pentagon generals and the rest of our cold warriors do not share with the rest of us the same dread of a nuclear holocaust.

—David Kinkoad  
Foresville, Calif.

## THE CONSPIRACY

**D**IANA JOHNSTONE'S ARTICLE, "U.S. promoted civil war in Lebanon" (*ITT*, May 14) is little more than a pile of innuendo based on demonstrably false premises.

Rather than mention obvious and useful information relative to Syria's intervention into Lebanon—like the

fact that Syria never recognized the partition of Lebanon out of historic Syria in 1923, has never extended diplomatic recognition to the Lebanese Republic, and has never stopped proclaiming its intent to reabsorb Lebanon, Johnstone would have us believe that Syria's intervention was the result of an elaborate U.S.-Australian-Israeli-Canadian conspiracy.

Rather than cast light on the vexing problem of interreligious relations in the Middle East, and the elusiveness of interreligious harmony—in Iraq, Egypt, Syria, and the Sudan as well as in Lebanon—Johnstone attributes interreligious antagonism in Lebanon to vile conspiracies by the depraved U.S. and the conniving international Zionists.

As to the alleged motivations and means of this conspiracy, it will suffice to examine two points. Diana Johnstone and Raymonde Edde assert that Israel needed to destabilize Lebanon because it bothered Israel to be "the only religious state in the region." Of 22 Arab states, all 22 establish and enforce Islam as the state religion; after all, Islam not only does not separate church and state, Islam is the state. (Lebanon is excluded, as its Arabness is debatable, and hardly seems to constitute any kind of a state at this point). Nobody besides Johnstone and Raymonde Edde seem to have noticed the massive Australian-Canadian-American propaganda campaign to attract Lebanese Christian immigration, and the entry of huge numbers of Lebanese Christian immigrants into the U.S. seems to have gone unnoticed by the Immigration and Naturalization service and the Census Bureau.

—Richard Koris  
Washington, D.C.

## TROUBLE AHEAD

**I** SEE A CRISIS DAWNING WITHIN THE Northeast "no nukes" movement, rooted in our individual frustrations and fears.

On the weekend of May 24 at Seabrook, there were sticks and stones thrown at police, as well as a lot of vio-

lent words. The chant that I have so often heard directed in an accusatory tone toward police who are being less than gentle with their arrestees, is true for us as well: "The whole world's watching." On a basic strategic level—forget about philosophies—I say this behavior is bad for our purpose, if what we want is an end to nukes.

Cutting fences is the same thing. For me, protection of private property does not take priority over protection of my family's health. So I have no philosophical argument with people who want to cut fences to gain access to a nuke site. On a practical level, it is a bad tactic, for at least two reasons. First, the state will be there to defend that fence, and those who would make a serious attempt must not only bring tens of thousands to the site to outflank and overwhelm the enforcers, but also be prepared to sustain heavy casualties. Second, this tactic is supremely alienating. The Native American (was it Sitting Bull?) that Tom Hayden quoted for the title of his book pegged our culture accurately when he said, "The love of possession is a disease with them." It may well be pathological that our culture fosters devotion to possessions, to property, but this is precisely our predicament and our work, to reach people where they are, not where we think they should be.

Affinity groups at Seabrook would have done well to reconsider whether to cut fences, in light of their numbers. Does fence-cutting, as a symbolic act, bring us in any way closer to stopping nukes? Might this, and making enemies out of police, really carry us further from our goal, and closer to all the prophesied police state repression?

We who would change the existing order must get clear and stay clear about our methods, the ripples our methods will cause, and the ways our methods leave us vulnerable to condemnation by those who might rather ignore us than hear the frightening truth.

—Christopher Nord  
Lebanon, N.H.

## PULLING TOGETHER?

**P**ROGRESSIVES HAVE NEVER HAD A greater opportunity to attract the support of 85 percent of Americans. With the brazen rip-offs on gas, oil, utilities, food, medical care, housing rents, interest and auto insurance the people know that they are being badly used by the monopolies. They know that they have no voice in government, that the politicians and power elites contemptuously ignore them.

But when we say 85 percent we are saying Democrats, Republicans, liberals, conservatives, urban and rural, old

and young, employees, professionals, minorities, the poor, women, small businesses, and farmers are being battered, ample reason for a broad-based coalition.

By concentrating on the pocketbook issues that concern all, we have a chance to gain majority support for the sensible changes needed. Progressive forces are at odds on many issues and tactics. The time to resolve these is after we have power. If we all concentrate our efforts on reaching out to the silenced majority with our messages, contributing our funds and efforts for this, limiting talking to ourselves, we can build the broad-based support needed.

—Jerry D. Lang  
Miami, Fla.

## A CERTAIN REVULSION

**J**AMES NORTH'S ARTICLE ON SOUTH Africa (*ITT*, June 6) shows a certain revulsion for the idea that coloreds or racially-mixed South Africans are different—racially and culturally—from blacks. He contemptuously dismisses the colored people as "colored" but deigns to give the Indian people the dignity of their own identity (no "Indians").

Being oppressed and having some degree of black African ancestry does not equal "black." If one accepts that, all Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and Cubans would have to be called "black" since extensive miscegenation with black slaves produces mulattoes and zambos (Indian/African) who were assimilated into the Indian, mestizo and "white" populations of their homelands, with the mulatto element predominantly in the Spanish Caribbean.

Some individuals within the heterogeneous colored population might call themselves "black" if they have had much contact with black political activists, but that does not negate the group identity of an entire people who have been part of South Africa since the first days of European settlement. Indeed, the oldest white Boer families are descended from the offspring of Dutch men and native women, and the worst laws affecting the colored were enacted only within the last 35 years or so.

—V.L. Malone  
Chicago

**Editor's Note:** Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

## Fay Stender is dead at 48



More than a year after she was shot six times and was left paralyzed from the waist down, Fay Stender took her own life in Hong Kong, May 19. Her assailant, allegedly a member of a so-called Black Guerrilla Family, an ultra-left prisoners group in California, was tried and convicted for the shooting in San Francisco.

Fay Stender spent her adult life as an attorney and as an activist in the struggle for civil rights, against the Vietnam war and for the rights of prisoners and the reform of the criminal justice system. Among her clients were Huey Newton and George Jackson, and literally thousands of other prisoners, poor people, minorities and those who could not afford legal help. She gave them one of the best legal minds in California and received neither money nor glory for her efforts. Fay Stender's death marks the demise of a true hero of the left, one whose fierce commitment to justice and equality and determination to struggle against injustice is unsurpassed.

—Saul Landau



## BOOKS

# The New Church in Latin America

Cry of the People

By Penny Lernoux

Doubleday, 1980, \$12.95

By Blase Bonpane

Reading this book was reading of brothers, sisters, friends and situations near and dear to me. Indeed, I am a statistic in the Martyr Survey that begins on page 463. For some reason I am not listed with the dead. But together with hundreds of others, my category is exiled/expelled.

Here is an accurate and stirring account of the New Church in Latin America. North American readers will be led to understand that knowing Jesus does not include either being a citizen of the U.S. or being a capitalist. The book helps those of us north of the Rio Grande to understand why there is no money for rapid transit, low cost housing, pure air, health care and education. Indeed, money that could be used for our almost defunct food stamp program is sent to El Salvador to pay for weapons used to kill dissident peasants (do not read "extreme leftists"; people being killed by American arms are as conservative as the poor all over the globe, they are as conservative as Archbishop Oscar Romero).

Military control is an absolute necessity for the continuation of the multinational rape of the Third World economy. Illiterate people clearly understand what it means when the profit of their labor simply accrues to the coffers of foreign entrepreneurs.

Military methods are dictatorial methods. Tricks of the trade include torture and summary execution. The homogeneity of the oppressive methodology in

Latin America bears the stamp "made in USA." U.S. policy has clearly been consistent, unchanging and diabolical. Latin America has but one purpose: to yield a positive balance of payments. Once this article of faith is accepted, all else follows. If Guatemala has a ten-year period of democratic socialism (1944-1954) at the expense of the interests of the United Fruit Company, then Guatemala has to be overthrown and a military police state established. If Brazil elects Goulart whose eyes are on the needs of the Brazilian people, he must be overthrown to "stop communism." If the people of Chile elect Salvador Allende at the peril of Kennecott and Anaconda Copper, Allende must be killed, together with his supporters.

The fact that he is replaced by a member of the Nazi Lodge of Chile did not seem to disturb Henry Kissinger. We would not even have to mention the arrival of 25,000 Marines on April 24, 1965, to turn back the election of the moderate Juan Bosch in the Dominican Republic. The ugly reality is that the major interventions of the U.S. in Latin America have been against the few democratic governments and have left a legacy of dictatorships.

I recall discussing these realities with Penny Lernoux at Puebla in Mexico on the day the Pope spoke to the Conference of Latin American Bishops. She was preoccupied by the notoriety of one priest whose history she researched and who becomes the leit motif of her book. He is Father Roger Vekemans, the CIA agent. His high life style and his good service to empire in the name of anti-communism is reflected in his role during the overthrow of Salvador Allende.



No one will be able to measure the full impact of Vekemans' work in terms of priests, brothers, sisters and laity who have been tortured or killed as a result of his "apostolate." Vekemans is a symbol of the deep division in the Latin American Church. This division is even more profound than the cause of Martin Luther. However, it will probably not lead to the formation of a new denomination. The Pope will retain his primacy of honor. But the Spirit must be followed. So Rome is called to repent of its sins, its multinational investments, its cult of non-marriage, its high life style, its authoritarianism and its devotion to capital.

## No church unity.

It would be immature to argue that the Latin American Church is a unity. When one cleric will report the actions of another to civil authorities; when one parish will harbor rebels and another call the military to liquidate them—that is not unity.

Nor is it satisfactory to advise the clergy to "stay out of politics." Such was the message of the Cardinal Archbishop of Guatemala while he himself was deeply involved with the politics of the oligarchy and the military. Liberation theology is opposed to such Greek dualisms. Distinctions between body and soul, natural and supernatural, politics and religion become quite artificial and manipulative.

Members of the New Church can be identified by their conduct. Nominal membership is not the key. Somoza is a Catholic. Videla is a Catholic. Pinochet is a Catholic. So what? Their conduct classifies them as heretics who can only be comfortable in hell. The New Church must not look to membership in an institution but to conduct in a situation. The CIA represents a modern-day inquisition having even less rationale than its 16th century counterpart. Victims are seized and questioned under torture regarding their faith in capitalism. If they do not believe they are killed. Indeed, anyone cruel enough to pay 50¢ a day to their help will surely support cutting out the tongues of dissidents.

Tens of thousands of us have grown out of the institutional Church to become tent-makers and support ourselves and our families. But for some reason the people know us and seek us out. The Nicaraguans insisted that I celebrate their victory Mass in Los Angeles. The fact that I am married and have two children was not a hindrance. The massive Church building could not hold all the worshippers. And when the Salvadoran community mourned the martyrdom of their Archbishop Romero, they gave me facilities to celebrate the eucharist in an open park. The Pope and the North American Church were strangely silent about Romero's death. It seems to be a problem of assets.

No one interested in contemporary Latin America can afford to ignore this excellent book. It is a shame the book terminates just before the Nicaraguan victory. But aside from this problem of timing, there are some flaws.

Lernoux describes Camilo Torres as one who believed that, "in order to love, it is necessary to kill." Camilo believed and taught no such thing! She also refers to his "desertion" to the guerrillas. It was not a desertion. It was his vocation. As Fidel Castro states, "Not everyone can be a Camilo Torres." Lernoux must read the comments of the Priests for Latin America (*Sacerdotes para America Latina*) in Bogota, Colombia, on the matter of the occupation of the embassy of the Dominican Republic. They describe the action as "a logical episode in the dialectic of violence which dependent capitalism has established in Colombia."

Another curious statement made by the author: "Like the theologians of liberation, Freire has no time for left-wing guerrillas who would first seize power and then attempt to establish a dialogue with the masses, since that is but another form of paternalism." First, the theologians of liberation go back to Moses. They do not represent a situational unity. They are not of one mind on military tactics and strategy. Further, no serious scholar can deny for a moment that Marxist guerrillas together with many non-Marxists won a military victory in Nicaragua and are still in the process of establishing a dialogue with the masses in that country. The author's phrases on this matter may be palatable to an American audience but they are not correct in terms of what happened in Nicaragua and what is happening today in El Salvador and Guatemala.

It seems to me that Lernoux understands this because in another place she speaks of the fallacy of peaceful revolution in the case of Allende. The book leaves me with a clear internal contradiction when the author states that revolutionary tactics "do not work" in the present Latin American context.

Anyone who loves violence is crazy. But with Paulo Freire, writing in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, let us look at the origins of violence:

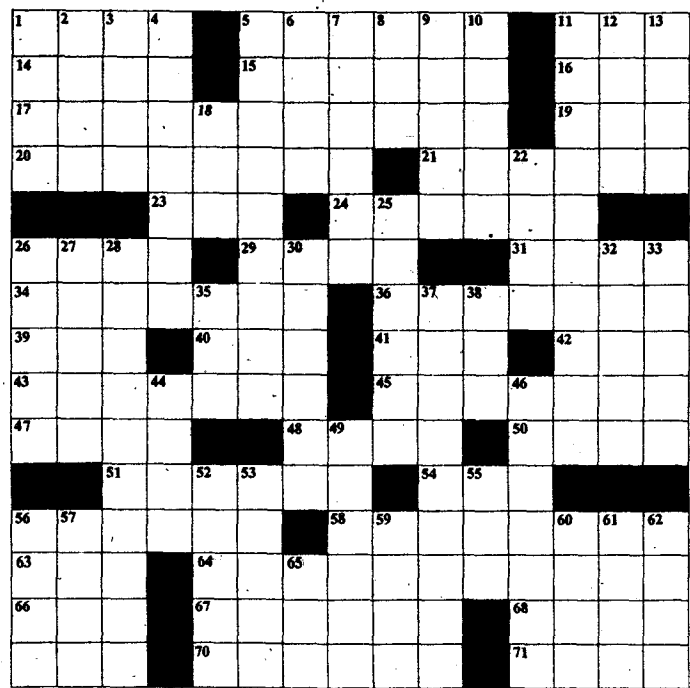
*Never in history has violence been initiated by the oppressed. How could they be the initiators, if they themselves are the result of violence? How could they be the sponsors of something whose objective inauguration called forth their existence as oppressed? There would be no oppressed had there been no prior situation of violence to establish their subjugation.*

Personally, I would prefer that the 80,000 *comunidades de base* of Brazil as a new infrastructure grow up to become a systematic form of love and justice in that country and throughout Latin America. But we must acknowledge that people who fought in Nicaragua and who are fighting today in Guatemala and El Salvador hate violence as much or more than the author of this book. And that is why they are fighting. The historical correspondence between Father Daniel Berrigan and Father Ernesto Cardenal brought this point out clearly. Father Cardenal had the last word by reminding Father Berrigan that all of the "principles" of the North American Jesuit were not worth the life of one Nicaraguan child. In spite of these few points which I consider to be errors, Lernoux has written a great book that makes it clear that theistic humanists and atheistic humanists are working together in great harmony for the liberation of Latin America.

**Blase Bonpane is a Latin American specialist and sociology professor at California State University, Northridge. He previously served as a Maryknoll priest in Guatemala.**

## Campaign 1980

By David Mermelstein



## ACROSS

- 1 Robeson or Hines
- 5 R.R. in old movie (with "the")
- 11 Top of a suit
- 14 Esau's wife
- 15 Madden
- 16 Nonsense
- 17 Ex-candidate's 13 supporters
- 19 Ear prefix
- 20 United Arab
- 21 Scopes trial name
- 23 Midwestern coll.
- 24 Novelist Waugh
- 26 Portico
- 29 Decorator's suggestion
- 31 Collections
- 34 Pertaining to bronze coin
- 36 Hearing organ science
- 39 Soak

## DOWN

- 40 Dernier
- 41 Neighbor of Md.
- 42 His, on the Seine
- 43 M.M. O'Hair, e.g.
- 45 Remnant
- 47 "also serve..."
- 48 Thug
- 50 Liberal follower
- 51 Publisher Clay
- 54 At a distance
- 56 Religious man
- 58 Pillers
- 63 Port. coin
- 64 Second rate candidate?
- 66 Alternative to BMT
- 67 Unadorable Hun
- 68 Rival to Agatha
- 69 Affair of 1797-98
- 70 More radical
- 71 Adjacent to Fin

## DOWN

- 1 Ruth
- 2 Smith
- 3 H.H. Munro
- 4 Union general
- 5 Umpires, at times
- 6 Therefrom
- 7 Talked dully
- 8 La (Bolivia)
- 9 Moon crater
- 10 Pertaining to the kidneys
- 11 Obsequious candidate?
- 12 French roast
- 13 Solar deity
- 18 Addar
- 22 Former Scottish coin
- 25 Haitian practice
- 26 Inconsequential person
- 27 Strength
- 28 Broken candidate

## (for Veep)?

- 30 TV wife (var. sp.)
- 32 Orange
- 33 Methods: Abbr.
- 35 "on parole..."
- 37 Cuddly candidate?
- 38 Passe
- 44 Facial units
- 46 Martin, e.g.
- 49 Corsage flower
- 52 Pertaining to the lungs
- 53 First name in movie of 5 Across
- 55 Lake or village of Ontario
- 56 Grand
- 57 Ethereal
- 59 Auk genus
- 60 Teacher
- 61 Wiggly ones
- 62 Cong. vote
- 65 Time abbreviation





## An ounce of prevention...

### The Cancer Syndrome

By Ralph W. Moss  
Grove Press, New York, 1980

By Samuel Epstein

As national health care costs have risen exponentially, from about \$30 billion in 1960 to \$230 billion in 1980, medicine in the U.S. has become a rapid growth expansionist industry. With one of the nation's most powerful political lobbies, largely focused through the AMA, the medical industry has successfully blocked

attempts at control or regulation, from national health insurance to hospital cost containment. In spite of major strides in sophisticated technology and diagnostic techniques, health care in the U.S. remains substandard, particularly for the poor and ethnic minorities, as attested by overall national statistics, such as maternal and neonatal mortality rates which rank among the worst of any "civilized" country.

The traditional preoccupations of medicine with diagnosis and treatment, to the detriment of prevention, have been powerfully exploited by the phar-

maceutical industry, which aggressively promotes its patented products, exaggerating their efficacy and minimizing hazards, through ads in medical journals, importunate and poorly informed detailmen, and interlocking relationships with the medical industry and institutions.

Sacked from his job as public information officer at the Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center in New York for pro-laetrile sympathies, in a readable and informative expose, Moss examines the impact of these relationships on cancer with understandable emphasis on conflicts of interest at Memorial.

Although somewhat light on documentation, Moss demonstrates that despite the billions of research dollars and optimistic contrary assurances of the National Cancer Institute and American Cancer Society, there has been no overall improvement in our ability to cure cancer, particularly of the lung, breast, and colon (the major killing sites) whether by surgery, radiation, or chemotherapy. While properly emphasizing the limitations and unpleasant side effects of radiation or chemotherapy, Moss explains the economic institutionalization of cancer treatment. Of the nine members of the Institutional Policy Committee at the Memorial, seven have direct interest in cancer drug and diagnostic industries. So, as could be expected, the Memorial and other such major medical centers do not seem enthusiastic on the testing and use of non-patentable drugs, generally categorized as "unproven methods" or "unorthodox therapies." While Moss establishes at least a presumption for self-interest and economic prejudice in the use of patentable cancer chemotherapeutic agents, on a lesser plane he does not provide parallel analysis of possible economic motivations for "unorthodox" therapies, particularly laetrile, nor is he particularly critical of the evidence for their efficacy, even recognizing difficulties in obtaining such evidence in the absence of institutional cooperation.

While Moss clearly recognizes the imbalance in national priorities between cancer treatment and prevention, his treatment of the role of the chemical and mining industries in blocking the regulation of carcinogenic products and processes is cursory and idiosyncratic.

The prevention of cancer by reasoned public policy designed to limit exposure to carcinogens in the workplace and general environment seems a more realistic and attainable solution than pinning hopes on cancer therapy, whether orthodox or unorthodox.

Samuel S. Epstein, M.D., is the author of *The Politics of Cancer*.

## Business vs. health and safety

### Business War on the Law: An Analysis of the Benefits of Federal Health/Safety Enforcement

By Mark Green and Norman Waitzman  
Public Citizen, \$5

By Patrick Lacefield

In the current business lexicon of obscene words—the corporate Legion of Decency, if you will—no word quite inspires such ferocity as "regulation." If we are to believe business community press releases, "demon" regulation is responsible for the closing of a half dozen steel mills, double-digit inflation, lagging productivity and the timidity of the haves to invest in buildings and equipment to employ the have-nots. "Remember the three branches of government?" asks an ad placed by Amway Corporation. "Today they are being overwhelmed by one the Founding Fathers never envisioned...regulatory agencies." Anything and everything that ails the body politic—save perhaps the common cold—can trace its roots to government regulation. Is it sophisticated, this ominous message? Usually? Is it effective? Increasingly. Is it self-serving? Always.

Nearly 30 years ago, K. William Kapp called the private sector to account for such rubbish in his book *The Social Costs of Private Enterprise*. Now, Nadlerites Mark Green and Norman Waitzman of the Corporate Accountability Research Group have authored a tour-de-force confronting the health and safety regulations and their enforcement.

"When the Russian biologist Lysenko created the myth in the 1940s that acquired traits could be inherited," write Green and Waitzman, "the Soviet Union adopted his theory as state doctrine since it reinforced government policy about the 'New Soviet Man.' So too

does the myth of the 'excessive cost of government regulation' serve the needs of corporate doctrine—though it is about as reliable and scientific as Lysenko's theory of genetics."

Green and Waitzman first take pains to distinguish between cartel regulation (say, restrictions on airlines and trucking by the Federal Aviation Administration and Interstate Commerce Commission) and life-saving health and safety regulation, a response to a vision of humane capitalism absent in Sinclair Lewis' *The Jungle* and the thalidomide horror. While most cartel regulation was originally designed to monitor natural monopolies, it did—in effect—insure the hegemony of those interests and indeed drives up the cost of doing business. Health, safety, and environmental regulations, on the other hand, preserve values different from traditional commodities, values the marketplace has not and cannot assure consumers and workers—a clean environment, a healthy workplace, and safe products.

Even as they recognize cost-benefit analysis as the rational decision-making tool of the economist, the authors contest recent studies by Murray Weidenbaum of the American Enterprise Institute and by the Business Roundtable that attribute to regulation job loss, inflation, and lack of innovation and competition. The flies in the cost-benefit analysis ointment are the external diseconomies generated by industrial capitalism that fail to appear on corporate balance sheets because the public absorbs these costs. If the benefits of regulation do indeed exceed the costs looking at the totality, then regulation is deflationary, not inflationary. Environmental regulations, according to a macroeconomic study by Chase Manhattan and supported by Milton Friedman, stimulated an increase in net employment of 1 percent in 1976-77.

A recent OSHA study concluded that 25 percent of all industrial accidents could be prevented through regulatory enforcement of existing standards, reducing the yearly toll of several hundred thousand workers whose illness and injury must be compensated for by the public. A 1968 Harris poll showed that 63 percent of Americans believe more tax dollars should be spent on auto safety regulation. Every year automobile seat belts and shoulder harnesses save an estimated 3,000 lives and prevent tens of thousands of injuries.

When Green and Waitzman focus their attention on quantifying the benefits of five agencies—OSHA, the Environmental Protection Agency, the Food and Drug Administration, and the Consumer Product Safety Commission—their findings are similar. An HEW Task Force study in 1969 concluded that fully one-fourth of all drug therapy is ineffective and that this costs consumers \$1-2 billion (in 1969 dollars, mind you). NHTSA requirements for safety bumpers on automobiles save consumers in repair costs, strengthen the car in collisions and, because each bumper is 35 pounds lighter, enhance fuel economy. The cost of regulation to prevent such chemical dump disasters as the Love Canal near Buffalo would have been minimal compared to the costs the public now must bear to clean up the area and compensate the residents for their health, their homes, their lives. Though there are literally hundreds of Love Canals coast-to-coast waiting to happen, the EPA solid-waste disposal budget for last year was only \$25 million.

Green and Waitzman's *Business War on the Law* should occupy a prominent place on the bookshelf of anyone concerned with the corporate offensive against the hard-fought gains of federal health and safety regulations.

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by Karl Frieden

National Center for Economic Alternatives

A study of existing American firms where workers have some part in ownership or management of the enterprise. The report finds consistent productivity increases compound with similar conventional firms. Also looks at European experience and makes policy proposals for U.S.

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## ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

## THEATER

## AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE

## Two Black Actors on Conscience &amp; Theater

By Robert K. Musil

Recently black actors William Marshall and Paul Winfield completed a tour of Henrik Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People* with appearances at the Goodman Theater in Chicago and the Annenberg Theater in Philadelphia.

Ibsen's play, adapted by Arthur Miller, concerns an idealistic doctor, Peter Stockman, who tries to warn a town that their natural springs, a major tourist attraction and source of revenue, are poisonously polluted. Stockman's progressive allies in the press desert him and he is forced into exile.

William Marshall was part of a group of progressive black actors associated with Paul Robeson in New York and were black-listed in the '50s. Marshall has played Jomo Kenyatta, and tours colleges with a one-man rendition of Frederick Douglass. In *An Enemy of the People* he plays Mayor Peter Stockman, who turns the townspeople against his brother, Dr. Thomas Stockman, played by Paul Winfield.

Paul Winfield recently starred, with William Marshall, in Arthur Miller's adaptation of Henrik Ibsen's *Enemy of the People*. Winfield has received an Academy Award nomination for best actor. He has starred in the television docu-drama *King*, in *Souther*, and in *Roots II*, and, through Screen Actors Guild, has been active in promoting better roles for minorities.



William Marshall became interested in theater by watching Paul Robeson in *Othello*.

## William Marshall

*When you were a young actor you had some acquaintance with the play AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE and Arthur Miller's adaptation of it when you were in New York.*

I remember having seen the play in New York, and that it was a very controversial piece, and that it suffered a great deal in the eyes of the critics, considering the press that they represented. Thirty years later, we seem to

have the same press and the same critics and the same response. That's understandable, because I think Miller's adaptation of Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People* was an effort on his part to expose McCarthy and McCarthyism.

*During the McCarthy period, as a young actor, where did you look for models?*

It was as a result of just having seen Paul Robeson perform in *Othello* that I did become interested in the theater. That was not

the only reason, but it illustrated to me that there was a role of significance and dignity that could be portrayed by a black actor. There weren't many black actors that one could identify with. The majority of them were presented to us as buffoons, or as servants, lackeys ministering to the majority community, and that was certainly nothing that I can imagine any of us would want to identify with.

I was among a whole community of actors who were living and working in New York and who were all victimized by that witch hunt era. However, it's a little difficult for a black actor to know whether he's not getting work because he's black and they don't have the vehicles for him, or whether it's because they consider him red because he goes out and gets signatures for the Stockholm Peace Petition. I was one of those people.

I remember seeing Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman* with my mother and my grandmother, a remarkable woman from Texas who raised an enormous family, but was always a conservative in her fashion. My mother was a much more progressive woman.

But as conservative as my grandmother was, she didn't stop to question one second why it was necessary that she put her signature on the Ban-the-Bomb statement that was coming from Stockholm. She just put her name there, so did my mother, and so did I, and just about

everyone I think that I encountered who wasn't a dyed-in-the-wool slaveholder.

*Did that signature on the petition come back to haunt you?*

Well, of course. When I was doing a film at 20th Century Fox called *Demetrius and the Gladiators*, their efficiency expert was called in to deal with me. I think efficiency expert is spelled C-I-A or F-B-I, I don't know which. But they wanted to know about these nefarious things that I was involved in. For instance, after the theater, very often there were meetings of the people who happened to be working at that time that involved issues of moment. I recall that there was the case of Willie McGee in Mississippi. He was about to be railroaded to the electric chair for allegedly raping a white woman. To speak out against that kind of thing put one on the Attorney General's list as a pink or a red or an undesirable.

There was the Martinsville 7, and the Trenton 6. A multiplicity of issues involving the civil rights of black people in particular, but also of everybody in the nation. Anybody who stood up and said, "These things are wrong," and that we should find ways of democratizing our land, was punished by being put out of work.

*What do you see as the contemporary relevance of AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE?*

The most immediate and most prevalent one happens to be the Three Mile Island situation. That was and has been very much on my mind. While on the college circuit last year, presenting Frederick Douglass, I was supposed to go to Harrisburg, and I rather decided that that was not the right place for me to go. This was just the day after, and the people at the college that I was to appear at were constantly in touch with me. I remember my agent saying, "Well, have you seen the picture of the President and his wife there? You know it must be all right."

"It's my life that I'm trying to preserve," I said, "Just because the head honcho of honkydom was standing there in that radioactive-filled room with those plastic booties, doesn't mean that I want to join them."

*Does interracial casting add political relevance to this modern production of Ibsen's work?*

Well, Greg Mosher and the directors at the Goodman have been trying to administer to the enormous community in Chicago, with such a multiplicity of nationalities. In fairness, blacks must be represented. There are insufficient vehicles for blacks to be a part of, and I think that is the political statement. When you see black actors in plays that were hitherto populated by white actors, something is being said. When you see a black artist in a play or film, it states for me the tremendously rich history that these people represent—this black artist, or this Hispanic artist, or this Oriental artist—is not being tapped.

The question has to be posed: why not? Do we want to perpetuate the stereotypes in order to make sure that we have people properly compartmentalized in order to be able to use them in ways that are significant from the point of view of a Mayor Peter Stockman? Even though the hands of black people are not as important as they were when they dragged them here with guns and whips from Africa, it's very important that there be a bottom and that everybody knows where the bot-

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tom is. Blacks are on that bottom, and it is so designed that they remain there, no matter how many able to escape and to cooperate with the power structure in order to keep the others down.

**How did you develop an interest in black history and specifically figures like Frederick Douglass?**

Well, certainly long before any involvement in theater. I can reflect on my early schooling at Roosevelt High School in Gary, Ind., and the history classes and geography classes. In the latter, we were always made to feel ashamed of African people. They were always presented as exotic but demented people, who put plates in their lips and extended the length of their ears and their necks. There was only a paragraph, and the tiniest paragraph, about Frederick Douglass, whereas there was a very long paragraph about Booker T. Washington. That meant to me, even as a child, that he was either a much more productive and meaningful man, or a much more acceptable man to those who had handed down these books to us from the white school.

The first film that I made was a film called *Lydia Bailey*, and it was written by Kenneth Roberts. It was a very popular novel. One aspect of the story dealt with Haiti. I knew little or nothing about Haiti at that time. Being in the film sparked a desire to learn more about it because it seemed that here we had an inordinately rich history that I knew little or nothing about.

Then we had the world premier of the film in Haiti. I'd never before seen a black president, or a black mayor, or a black anything, really, of that stature. And I began to look more closely at other aspects of our history and the way in which it had been treated.

**How do you interpret Douglass' speeches for the stage? How do you make yourself Frederick Douglass?**

One has to realize that one cannot make oneself Frederick Douglass, that one can only suggest Frederick Douglass. And I find that my philosophical posture is not foreign to his. Despite his having lived over a hundred years ago, we're still grappling with many of the same problems.

There are a number of accounts of Douglass' presentation, and they were brought to my attention by the Afro-American Bicentennial Convention in Washington. I was invited there in 1974 to present Douglass' Fourth of July speech. I decided that it would serve as a presentation for the college circuit, if I could interweave his very personal observations about slavery. It was delivered in 1852, to a group of women at the anti-slavery women's society in 1852 in Rochester, N.Y. He assumes they are sympathetic and would like to hear what he has to say, as the then spokesman for black people. He would not harangue, but would just give as quiet an interpretation as possible, very quiet observations.

The observations themselves would serve to be sufficiently dramatic, without the man himself becoming too dramatic, for fear that they would get too much involved with the furor as opposed to what he was saying.

I think about Mayor Peter Stockman in that same sense. He has to be human. He has to be real. Mr. Rockefeller is real, Mr. DuPont, Mr. Pew, Mr. Mellon, Mr. Cunard, Mr. Pullman and all those guys are real.



Paul Winfield took as his role model William Marshall, who he had seen in *LYDIA BAILEY*.

## After a taste of success, black actors and actresses probably are worse off than before. There's not enough material, especially for actresses.

**Paul Winfield**

**Is AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE still topical?**

I enjoy the discussions with the audience afterwards. Each community has had a very special response, particularly in Philadelphia, where, of course, everyone immediately thinks of the Three Mile Island situation. The other response is that apparently the conditions of the water here in West Philadelphia create cancer in about 300 people out of every million, and the newspapers haven't wanted to do anything about it.

In Chicago we got a lot of people concerned, since the main issue of the play is freedom of speech, about the freedom even of the Nazis to speak.

Since the play is interracial cast, and since the play takes place in Norway, maybe two Norwegians have been somewhat upset about this. But generally the audience response has been that the interracial casting did not bother them. They were surprised maybe the first three minutes. Then they got caught up with the human beings on stage, and it wasn't shocking anymore to see that this man who is black could also be a doctor, could also have thoughts and intelligence and be able to articulate his viewpoints.

**Dr. Stockman starts out idealistically believing that the truth will set people free. Then he**

**runs into trouble. Does your association with King, since you played his role on TV, add an ironic undertone?**

Oh, certainly. I had the same reaction when I read the play, although I think the characters of Dr. Stockman and the real life Dr. Martin Luther King are very different. But certainly I think that Dr. King felt very much a failure when he died, when he was killed. He took a very unpopular stand. He had the audacity to come out against the Vietnam War at a time when no one was talking about it. And he brought down the wrath of the Johnson administration on the whole civil rights movement.

Consequently, other members of the civil rights movement tried to shut him up. He was shunned and lifetime long warm relationships were severed. He had to learn to be very lonely, as Dr. Stockman says in the play. And he died feeling that he had failed.

Of course, time has borne him out the other way, but we still see that response—that only certain people are allowed to speak on certain things. When Jesse Jackson talks about the policy in the Middle East, or when Andrew Young speaks, even though he's doing his job, his job is taken away from him.

**In the play, Ibsen and Arthur Miller, whose adaptation you use, are quite critical of the press. How has the contempo-**

**ary press reacted to a performance that shows a bought press?**

The press responded the same way they did 93 years ago. They hated this play. They are liberal and progressive up to a point, but only when Dr. Stockman's principles are good for them. If it's going to cost them money, or if it's going to affect circulation, then they don't want to have anything to do with it. One review in a major paper in Chicago just listed the actors and the color of their skin.

**There was some controversy about the King docu-drama. Characters were conflated and other changes made.**

The criticism was usually from people who weren't mentioned in the script, or who did play an important part in the movement, but simply were not—for reasons of time, or the fact that the studios couldn't afford to pay them for the use of their name—mentioned.

There were other criticisms I didn't think were really valid. In one important scene, we showed Dr. King being arrested for the first time. In his book, he talks about being very much afraid, and for a minister at that time in the South, being arrested was no little thing.

I wanted certainly to show that he was very frightened that first time, but that it didn't stop him from being arrested 122 times after that, that he wasn't born a saint. The important thing, if we had any message in it at all was that we all have faults, have failures. That

doesn't mean we can't overcome them, to take a stand on a principle.

**Do you as a recognized name get some say in roles?**

The only time I've ever really been able to affect a little bit of how a piece is going was when we did a movie version of *Huckleberry Finn* in which I played Jim, Nigger Jim. It was a musical version and we came in and talked to the director and the lyricist and the writers. I said, "If I'm going to be in this film, I don't want to see any singing and dancing slaves on the plantation. I know you're not going to do a big polemic about slavery for a musical version of *Huckleberry Finn* for *Reader's Digest* being produced for children. But at the same time, we shouldn't entertain with people dancing through the cotton fields."

And they agreed with me. But that's the only time that I can recall.

**Did you have any role models when you were a young actor?**

Oh yes. William Marshall was one. He did the movie called *Lydia Bailey* a long time ago. It was the first time I had seen a black on the screen who had a modicum of dignity and wasn't just a Steppin Fetchit type. It wasn't a completely successful film, but it was someone I could identify with.

I can't tell you the trauma that *Gone With the Wind* was for me. I wanted to like that

movie and I kept finding out that everyone was talking about it in school. But the people that I looked like up on that screen were the people who didn't want to leave the plantation, "I don't know nothin' about birthin' no babies, Miss Scarlett..." To think that they would stay there, no matter how beautiful Vivien Leigh was, to stay on to be a slave even for her—it just didn't make sense.

I grew up in Portland, Ore., at a time when it still had segregated theaters. I remember when a movie called *Home of The Brave* came. James Edwards played, for the first time since I had seen *Lydia Bailey*, a real, intelligent, articulate black man, and he was the hero of the film.

I remember everybody in the neighborhood talking and saying, "Listen, this is our movie." We moved down from the balcony and said, "We're not going to sit up in the balcony to listen to this. This is our movie, our man up there, our film, our theater and, for the first time maybe, our city, our country." There weren't any dogs or hoses turned on anybody. It was just very quietly a refusal to sit up in the balcony.

That brought about a big change in social practices in what we always thought was a fairly progressive city in Portland, Oregon.

**What is the status, generally, for black actors and actresses?**

They're probably worse off than they've ever been before. We've had a little taste of how it could be right after the civil rights movement in the early '70s and late '60s. But now, we're swinging back again to the same type of lack of opportunities. Eight years ago, for instance, there were 35 films with blacks in them in major parts being produced. Last year there were two. This year, as far as I've been able to check out, I've heard of two again.

There are obviously very fine young black actors and actresses, such as we saw in *Roots I and II*, who are not being used. There's not enough material. With the advancement of video cassettes and cable television, there will be more opportunities. But at the moment, it is very bleak and very dry. We've taken part in demonstrations because there are not enough parts for black women.

I think it's going to get a lot worse before it gets better. In the '60s, suddenly you saw these people on television in newscasts who had dogs and hoses being turned on them for things that we all take for granted—the right to vote, the right to sit at a counter. And people said, "Who are these people?" as if suddenly black people had descended from the moon.

With that interest, producers started to put a few blacks in commercials. We got *Good Times* or *Sanford and Son*, and so on. We got a few little things here and there, but, well, we also got *King* and *Moses* and a few other things like that. It was because of the civil rights movement. Now there's a lack of interest in civil rights, or in human rights, and black people in general. So that reflects again in what you see on TV where blacks are not being used.

**Robert K. Musil is education director of Consider the Alternatives, a nationally-syndicated radio magazine produced by the SANE Education Fund. This interview was excerpted from a longer one for Consider the Alternatives.**



## FILM

# Insiders' documentary of a strike

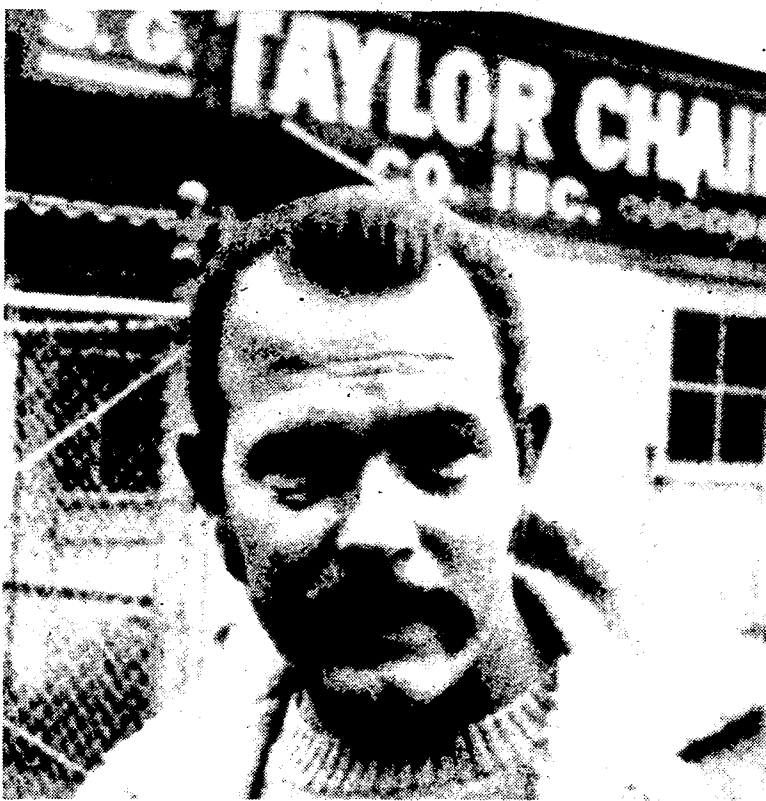
By Pat Aufderheide

A classic union crisis will show up on public TV Friday, June 20, and it won't have anything to do with corrupt leaders, mob ties, stolen pension funds, or other staples of the *F.I.S.T.* and *Power* school of union imagery.

Called *Taylor Chain*, it's a tightly-constructed 30-minute narrative of a real-life strike in a small chain factory in Hammond, Ind. *Taylor Chain* is part of the ongoing Non Fiction TV series, produced by TV Lab through WNET.

*Taylor Chain* is an insider's picture from the start, filmed in a cinema verite style with the camera traveling at the height and speed of the participants. The filmmakers—some of the same people who made *The Chicago Maternity Center Story*—were part of a group that advised the union on health and safety issues, and so they participated in the conflict from the start.

We come in as contract time comes up at the small factory, a family operation. A three-way conflict is going on. There's the rank and file—determined to assert themselves to win some real gains. There are the elected local union leaders, wedged be-



The local's president (above) was caught between rank-and-file and union interests.

tween the workers and the union. And there's the staffman from the Steelworkers, anxious for a settlement.

It all comes to a head at a meeting where the leaders bring in a contract for the rank and file to approve. We've already visited the picket line, where the workers are angry at the deal

they're sure won't be good enough. At the meeting the negotiating team—staffman and elected local leaders—explain. The staffman argues for the contract, also revealing that somebody, presumably from the rank and file, had called his house and threatened his wife. Then an elected local leader voices his conviction that they can get a better contract than this one—the staffman is clearly surprised by the withdrawal of support. Finally, the clincher—another local official also calls for a better deal.

Do they get it? Tune in June

20, but be warned that real life rarely offers triumphal exits.

This isn't a message film, because it carefully limits itself to revealing what happened, without lectures. But there are clear lessons. It pays, for instance, to get involved at the rank and file level—you may not win it all, but you can make a difference. Unions can be democratic, especially if an insistent (if not always empathetic) membership demands it.

"There's a lot of criticism to be made of big labor today," said Gordon Quinn, one of the two filmmakers (the other is Jerry Bumenthal) of Kartemquin Films. "But big labor is the basic defense of the worker today. There's a lot wrong with unions, but also a lot right—and the film shows them both."

## Experience.

Public reaction to the film should be interesting, because it captures the strike with an accuracy that allows people to interpret the situation according to their own experience.

One group with whom I watched it had been through a bitter battle with a big-time union and had finally formed their own independent union. They enjoyed razzing the staffman throughout. However, a friend who is a staffman also found the film involving and sympathetic.

"You see that jerk?" he gestured at a rank-and-file speaker at one point. "He doesn't know what he is talking about. The guys who do the negotiations know what it is to get one penny out of the company. The rank

and filers often expect much more than they can get."

This is a film whose situation engenders lively discussion, and whose subject deserves it. It's only too bad we don't get to see at least a panel after the film. (The filmmakers, however, envision the film becoming part of labor education classes where such discussions can take place.)

Like *Taking Back Detroit*, (see article, this page), *Taylor Chain* is a rare bird on PBS—a program that goes beyond the ever-so-proper limits of condominium culture, into new audiences. It reminds us at the same time of the abundance of cultural differences between classes in the U.S. It's not just that the characters don't look like actors. They don't look like the middle-class professionals who seem to inhabit almost all public TV documentaries. They look and move and talk like Midwestern factory workers. It's different—different habits, different gestures, different concerns.

*Taylor Chain* has a different audience than Masterpiece Theater. Further, what it shows that audience is not an exceptional moment. It's part of the three-year work cycle; a familiar process with familiar conflicts to any union member, no matter what the work. One hopes Non Fiction TV is setting a trend of programs that reflect a wider—or different—view of daily life than the view from Alistair Cooke's easy chair.

Non Fiction TV, WNET, 356 W. 58th St., NYC 10019. Kartemquin Films, 1901 W. Wellington, Chicago, IL 60657.

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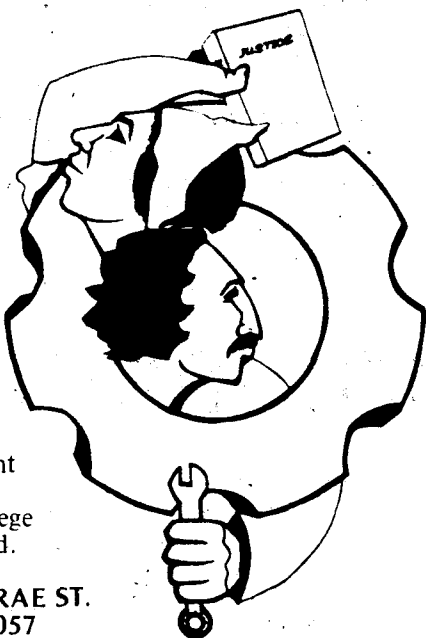
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## Meet a leftist in office

By David Moberg

What would it be like to have socialists governing your home town? For many Americans, the prospect is about as frightening as having Lucifer as the local preacher. Socialists don't have many examples ready at hand to counter those fears. Sure, it's possible to hark back to the first decades of the century when socialists often were in power or to talk about Bologna, Italy, but those are remote.

Filmmaker Steven Lighthill comes much closer with a documentary, *Taking Back Detroit*, that will be shown on many public TV stations June 13 as part of the NonFiction TV series (IN THESE TIMES, Apr. 23). Lighthill focuses on three socialists active in the Detroit Alliance for a Rational Economy (DARE), two of whom hold elected office. Justin C. Ravitz is a judge in the local courts, Ken Cockrel is a member of the city's Common Council, and Sheila Murphy is leader of DARE and aide to Cockrel.

Lighthill gives a taste of how these elected socialists confront city problems by showing them at work and talking with both constituents and opponents. Cockrel speaks out—as a losing (eight-to-one) minority in the council—against tax breaks for developers. It's not as if he is opposed to all business developments, but he thinks it's repre-



Ken Cockrel, socialist council member.

hensible to fight for federal money and then give the tax breaks to corporate developers while cutting the budget, laying off city workers and letting the city's residential housing stock sink into abandoned disrepair.

Ravitz, who gets strong commendations from police and other legal officials who were wary about the "Marxist judge," tells young attorneys that society is "criminalgenic"—"it generates criminals like it generates cars." He changed the style of the court-room—judge and visitors stand for the jury, for example—but he's not against all legal and police systems just because he's critical of this one. There can be, he says, people's prosecutors, people's police and even people's prisons.

Sheila Murphy's work demonstrates how the DARE strategy goes beyond talking about socialism and successfully campaigning for office. There's also concerted effort to mobilize people outside the legislative and judicial bodies, such as a campaign to "Tax Max and His Pal Al," aimed at local developers.

*Taking Back Detroit* is a warmly sympathetic, breezy, and undramatic depiction of how socialists can be politically effective, showing a sensible balance between the immediate difficult political reality and the long-term goal, since as Murphy observes, "socialism takes forever, apparently."

*Taking Back Detroit* is distributed by Available Light, P.O. 27343, San Francisco, CA 94127.





The *FREE VOICE OF LABOR* is rich in archival footage about turn-of-the-century working conditions and politics.

## Nostalgia of Jewish anarchism

By Victor Treschan

Steven Fleischer and Joe Sucher produced and directed *Free Voice of Labor: The Jewish Anarchists*, a 60-minute documentary that recreates the history of

the American Jewish anarchist movement. The film includes archival material, scenes from the Yiddish feature film *Uncle Moses*, and the commentary of Paul Avrich, a professor of history at Queens College of the City University of New York.

The film represents a vital contribution in recreating and unearthing the experience of the Jewish working class, and the Jewish secular progressive movement during the years of the massive Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe. The doc-

umentary gives a voice to a movement for social change and political protest among the Jewish people during the last decades of the 19th and the first decades of the 20th centuries.

The film establishes a rich sense of the environment of the

period: the brutal conditions of the sweatshops, the strikes in which Jews were on both sides of the fence, the lectures and dances of the movement on New York's lower east side. There are major weaknesses, however, in the presentation of the background data. Louis Levine, in his book *The Women's Garment Workers*, a history of the early development of the ILGWU, pointed out that Jewish socialists bitterly opposed the anarchists in the 1890s. The anarchists denounced all socialists as opportunists, despising the political efforts of the socialists to improve the lot of the workers, and wanting to prepare the unions exclusively for the impending social revolution. Although the film discusses at length the ideas of the anarchists—rejection of the centralized state, anti-authoritarianism and anti-clericalism, the advocacy of freedom in love relationships—there is no mention of strategy or tactics for attaining social goals. According to Irving Howe in *The World of Our Fathers*, the Jewish anarchists had very little concern with political steps to ameliorate the conditions of the Jewish workers.

The two important American Jewish anarchists, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, are hardly mentioned, and that is surprising in view of the significant role that Emma Goldman played in the anarchist movement. Moreover, there is no attempt to connect the Jewish anarchists with their counterparts in the American Italian community. It would have been interesting to know the reaction of the Jewish community and the Jewish anarchists to the executions of the two martyrs of the anarchist movement: Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti.

Victor Treschan teaches Jewish history at York College, City University.

*The Free Voice of Labor* is distributed by Pacific Street Films, 22 1st St., Brooklyn, NY 11231.

### THEATER

## Dramatic heritage of a pro-labor priest

By Russell W. Gibbons

At the turn of the century and through the end of WWI, Braddock, Pa., was the classic "steel town."

In literature it gained a niche in novels like *Out of This Furnace*, and its name even survived in some of the workingmen's poetry. "Strange Funeral in Braddock" told of the burial of a slab of steel from the ladle where a hapless laborer had fallen.

Now Braddock is enshrined in theater, in the story of a pioneer "labor priest," the Rev. Adalbert Kazincy, who was pastor for 51 years at St. Michael's parish in Braddock.

"Father K" is dramatized by a Pittsburgh-based repertory group called "The Iron Clad Agreement." They have traveled the highways and byways of American social history to reconstruct some of its more intriguing but forgotten stories, and in the process have reconstructed an important page from labor history.

The real Father Kazincy came

to Braddock in 1894 and died while still St. Michael's pastor in 1947. He came to the "wretched" steel valley on three years after the back of the steel workers had been broken by Henry Clay Frick's hired guns at Homestead. Most workers counted themselves lucky to have a job in a depression decade. Newly-arrived immigrants from Europe found that the mounted "constabulary," hired by the companies but with the authority of the commonwealth, were the equal of the feared Cossacks and dragoons of the monarchies from which they had fled.

The Rev. Charles Owen Rice, a later labor priest of the '30s, wrote of the real Father K., "This great priest came along at the right and perfect time for his own dear Slovak people, who were despised and mistreated as were all newcomers to our land. They were punished for their differences—of language, custom and especially religion.

"At first the men did not understand what was going on and, for a very brief while, they were used by the steel companies to undercut the trade unions, but

very quickly they caught on and became strong and reliable union men—their wives were as strong in the union faith as they."

The Iron Clad performance is in the fine tradition of the "Living Newspaper" of the WPA repertory theaters—where history was recreated in dramatic setting to involve the audience.

The 1919-20 steel strike, which resulted in another setback for the workers in America's mills, was also a repression for her eth-

nic communities. Father Kazincy understood, Rice said, that "their enemy of the moment was not to be found in other races or nationalities, even when these were hostile, but in giant corporations and their mercenaries, the Coal and Iron Police."

That militia "made the children cry when they hear their hoofbeats outside," Father K says in the play, "for they know what it means." An account of an attack by "the Cossacks" on

the parishioners of St. Michael's is one of the play's more moving parts.

The play has other powerful moments. "I could not sit back and be the mute dog of the Bible," he declares in recalling his testimony before a hearing of the Senate Committee on Labor and Education investigating the steel strike. And before his congregation found money enough to prevent a foreclosure of the mortgage on his church, Kazincy vowed that he would denounce those who owned Braddock and virtually everything in it, saying he would hang a banner declaring "This Church of Christ closed by the United States Steel Corporation."

The real Father K was an old country autocrat, eccentric, flamboyant. Yet he was indomitable, articulate, and provided leadership to people who were yet to be integrated into American society. He was a man for the times. The Iron Clad Agreement brings it back.

Russell Gibbons is the editor of *Steeltown*, a publication of the United Steelworkers of America.



K.W. Hutton as Father Kazincy.



# Parties

Continued from page 13

on media consultants like David Garth and pollsters like Patrick Caddell to woo an indifferent middle class. The 1968 Nixon campaign and 1976 Carter campaign

were models of this kind of electioneering.

But like any dangerous drug, it eventually can aggravate the illness it is intended to cure. The increased hype makes the electorate more disaffected and distrustful, more convinced of the irrelevance of politics, and less likely to vote at all. George Bush's campaign, based on Carter's 1976 campaign, ran into this problem with the voters, who

suddenly began to see Bush as a "packaged candidate." And John Anderson cleverly capitalized on the popular revulsion to hype by portraying himself as a man of principle and ideas.

But lacking a new party, a political alternative, and an activated electorate, there is no alternative to hype. The Anderson campaign itself has epitomized the corruption of American politics. Without any clear economic program, with no national grassroots following, and no support among established politicians or political institutions, Anderson was still able to come from nowhere and in six months establish himself as a credible independent candidate for president.



Walter Dean Burnham

The failure of the Kennedy campaign makes the point in the opposite way. As Sidney Blumenthal remarks in *The Permanent Campaign*, a study of political consultants, Kennedy's most serious error was to conduct a campaign as if the party organization and liberal loyalties still held. In Chicago, for instance, Kennedy placed his campaign in the hands of the Jane Byrne "machine" only to discover that the machine had no moving parts.

Kennedy's speeches identified the principal difference between himself and Carter in his abiding commitment to the Democratic Party and Carter's betrayal of that commitment. For some voters, this was a code message about their social programs. But for many, especially among the college-educated, it was an empty appeal to a meaningless institution.

In the end, Kennedy couldn't win sufficient loyalty from the blue-collar workers and minorities upon which his success depended. This was partly because he was unable to articulate a clear alternative to Carter. But it was also because he was not able to crack the general working-class disaffection from politics.

This was evident both in the lack of working-class voter participation and in the form of it. Reflecting 80 years of political miseducation—both by the parties and by some working-class organizations—many potential Kennedy supporters simply ignored the economic differences between the candidates in favor of their supposed differences on gun control or abortion, or in favor of an assumed difference in their honesty and sincerity.

## Friendly fascism.

Like the breakdown of the parties; the collapse of the liberal consensus is also nothing to mourn. At best, liberal capitalism promised increasing income for working Americans within an iron framework of overall class inequality and unchallenged capitalist authority. But in conjunction with the decline in political participation and the absence of any working class alternative to liberalism, this collapse poses grave dangers.

In the 1980 election, the liberal collapse and the growing predominance of upper-income voters will benefit the Reagan Republicans. Lacking a better idea, many voters will accept Reagan's claim that government regulation and taxation of industry is the primary reason for American economic decline.

The victor in 1980—whether it is Reagan, Anderson, or Carter—can be expected to move steadily toward greater state intervention in the wage, price, and investment process. Whatever their ideological predilections, policy-makers and corporate leaders are gradually recognizing that only such intervention is capable of stimulating growth in the American economy.

But as Michael Harrington notes in *Decade of Decision*, such state planning can take place in two different ways: through uncontested corporate intervention, accompanied by high unemployment, deindustrialization of much of the North, increasingly weak unions and a passive electorate, or through the impetus of an energized citizenry and labor movement, intent on shaping state intervention to its purposes rather than to those of the banks and corporations. The first path, which Bertram Gross has labelled "friendly fascism," is the one that American corporate leaders are likely to embrace. The second would require a new political realignment that would shake the Democratic Party and the party system out of its torpor.

This kind of realignment would have to reverse 80 years of political decline. It would require a new level of unity and political clarity within the forces that now make up the American left—the labor unions, feminist and minority organizations, and consumer and environmental groups. And it would require movement around common economic concerns within the working class.

There is some evidence of organizational unity and commitment to an anti-corporate politics among the leadership of the left, as evidenced by the formation of the Progressive Alliance and the Citizens/Labor Energy Coalition. There were some indications of a new political realignment in the Kennedy challenge. And there are numerous local indications of renewed left activity in the Northeast, Midwest and Far West.

But these efforts are still tentative, scattered, and lacking in overall direction. Worse still, they are taking place without much support or interest from below. This was certainly clear in the Kennedy campaign, and it has been equally obvious in the various events staged by these new national coalitions.

As for the 1980 presidential elections, they are pretty much over for much of the American left. There is clearly no chance of unseating Carter at the August convention. And it is difficult to take seriously any attempt to win platform concessions from the Carter forces. The newly formed Citizens Party, which represents an ideological advance for the American left, nevertheless has only the most tenuous ties to the mainstream organized left.

In short, many leftists will see the same dilemma as everyone else in November: given the choices and the absence of any connection between politics and policy, whether it is worth voting at all.

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### June 19-21/New York, NY

Intellectual Labor and Class Struggle, will be the theme of the Marxist Union Conference at New York University. The conference will have many speak-

ers and workshops of interest to Marxists. Registration begins at 7:30 p.m. at Schimmel Auditorium in the Tisch Building, 40 W. 4th Street.

### June 20-22/Stephentown, N.Y.

Berkshire Forum presents: "The Yiddish Gift to America" with Rachel Erlich. For full schedule of weekend vacation workshops write or call Berkshire Forum, Stephentown, NY 12168, (518) 733-5497.

### June 21/Chicago, IL

Kartemquin Films is presenting two films, *Taylor Chain* and *U.E. Demo* at

8 p.m. on Saturday at Chicago Film-makers, 6 W. Hubbard. Gordon Quinn and Jerry Blumenthal from Kartemquin and Guillermo Brzostowski from the United Electrical Workers will be there to discuss the films.

### June 26-29/Newbury, VT

Rural Organizing Training Conference. Topics include rural economic development, direct action, leadership development, etc. in rural areas. Cost: \$200 includes meals, lodging, materials and films. Contact: Ellen Fleischmann, North Country Institute, 8 N. Main St., Concord, NH, (603) 225-2097.

### June 28/Anaheim, CA

Rally and demonstration to protest National Right to Life Convention. Program includes: Rhonda Copelon, Del-dre English, Robin Tyler and the L.A. Women's Chorus. Rally at noon at Stoddard Park (Katella & 9th Streets). Sponsored by the June 28th Abortion Rights Coalition. For more information call (213) 254-2863 or (714) 972-2772.

### August 8-11/Yellow Springs, OH

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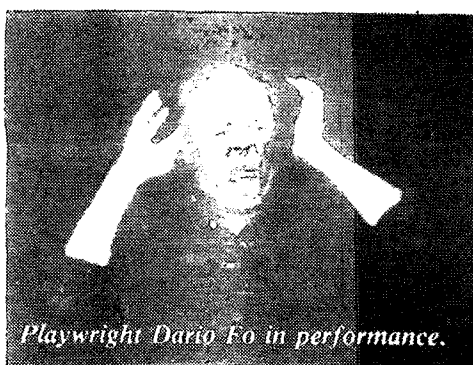
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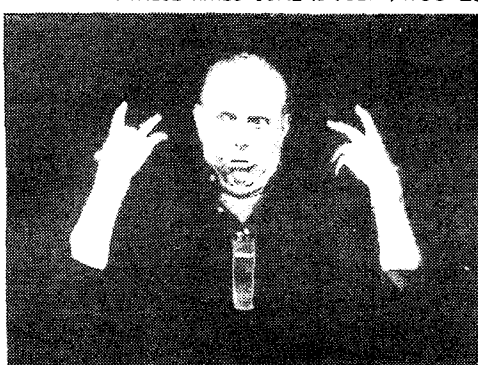
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Playwright Dario Fo in performance.



By Joel Schechter

## THEATER

## Satire throws terror into U.S. officials

A year ago I wrote an open letter to the CIA that began: "Your agency probably does not regard theater as a subversive activity." Written as a satiric introduction to one of Dario Fo's plays, it went on to warn that in other countries theater is subversive in its ridicule of government authorities and wealthy corporations. I cited the example of Fo, an Italian actor and playwright whose performances have satirized everything from Christopher Columbus to the Communist Party and the CIA.

Now that Dario Fo has been denied entry into the U.S. by the Department of State, I fear government officials took my letter seriously.

Fo was scheduled to perform a one-man show, *Mistero Buf-f*, in Baltimore and New York at the end of May. This virtuoso

comic monologue, in which he impersonates over 100 characters and speaks a nonsense language called "Grammelot," has won Dario Fo international praise as Italy's version of both Lenny Bruce and Marcel Marceau.

In the past some of Fo's performances were sponsored by the Italian Communist Party, but this is no longer the case. His art transcends party lines, even ridicules them, so that he lost PCI sponsorship. Both the left and right in Italy have ob-

jected to his political satire on various occasions. At times right-wing extremists have threatened Fo and his wife, actress Franca Rame (who was to accompany him on his visit and perform her own show) with violence.

One could almost understand the visa denial if the State Department had said Fo and Rame were banned for their own protection.

But according to Lacy Wright, the State Department's officer in charge of Italian affairs, Dario Fo was denied a visa because he

is a member of *Soccorso Rosso* (Red Aid), a leftist organization that aids political prisoners. Some of the prisoners are accused of terrorism, and the State Department may deny a visa to anyone who engages in terrorism or supports terrorist activity.

Wright acknowledged to IN THESE TIMES that Fo has publicly spoken out against terrorism. Fo's membership in *Soccorso Rosso* was enough to deny him a visa, however. Apparently Fo is guilty of association with an association that aids prisoners. (It should be noted that the lawyers of suspected terrorists have been arrested in Italy recently; to aid the suspects in any way, even legally, has become a crime.) The Italian government has neither officially protested or approved the denial of Fo's visa. However there are unconfirmed reports that the Italian stage hands union will boycott American theater productions touring Italy.

In an introduction to his play, *Accidental Death of an Anarchist*, Fo speaks about the play's mockery of the Italian government "and, above all, the enormous success which the play has enjoyed, produced a violent reaction in the centers of power. So we [Fo and his actors] were subjected to provocation and persecution of all kinds, sometimes more grotesque and comical in their repressive stupidity than the very farce which we were performing."

It seems that the Department of State has decided to play a role in this continuing farce. ■ Joel Schechter is the editor of *Theater*, which published Dario Fo's *Accidental Death of an Anarchist* last year. Copies of the play are available at \$3.50 each from Box 2046, Yale Station, New Haven, CT 06520. Telegrams protesting the denial of a visa to Fo can be sent to Secretary of State Edmund Muskie.

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LABOR OUTREACH GUIDE for anti-nuke activists. Abalone Alliance, 944 Market, #307, San Francisco, CA 94102. \$2.

JUNE, JEWISH CURRENTS, Louis Harap, "Right-Wing Intellectuals and Jews." Aaron Katz, "Rosenberg Case 30 Years Later." Max Gordon, etc., "Readers Forum on Stalinism." Single copy \$1.00. Subscription \$10 yearly U.S.A. Jewish Currents, Dept. T, 22 East 17 St., NYC. Louis Harap's pamphlet, "The Zionist Movement Revisited" 60¢. Albert Prago's pamphlet, "Jews in the International Brigade in Spain," 75¢.

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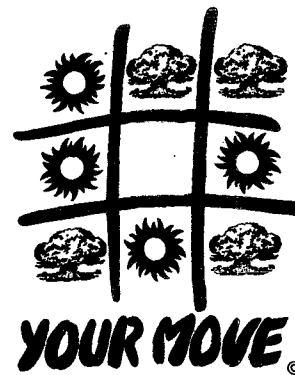
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# SKA HIGH



Selecter stays true to its ska roots.

## ≡Nobody makes good time≡ music for hard times like the Selecter

By Don McLeese

THE TENSION OF CONTRASTS POWERS the music of the Selecter. In the arrangement given "Time Hard," one of the most infectious tunes on the band's debut album, *Too Much Pressure* (Chrysalis), a sprightly organ line introduces an irresistibly buoyant melody. The listener is already hooked by the time singer Pauline Black joins in with the news that "Everyday things are getting worse... times so hard."

This good-time music recognizes but defies the encroachment of hard times, perseveres in the face of troubles in the land.

Contrasts abound within the Selecter. Most numbers pivot around the interplay between the full-bodied tones of Desmond Brown's Hammond organ and the taut twang of Noel Davies' rhythm guitar. Vocals alternate between Pauline Black's chirpy effervescence and the gruff, husky baritone of "Gaps" Hendrickson. Somehow the Selecter incorporates these various elements into a distinctively cohesive sound.

The Selecter is the last of the triumvirate of England's ska sensations to tour the U.S. The band is following in the footsteps of the Specials and Madness, both of whom achieved a considerable critical and commercial success in the States. Following the lead of these three bands, countless ska and ska-influenced bands have sprung up throughout England.

While the Selecter has thus far received minimal exposure over here, the band need take a back seat to no one. Their sound is tighter, more sophisticated, and truer to the original ska roots than that of either the Specials or Madness.

Within a music that prides itself on social awareness, the Selecter is the only one of the three bands that is both racially and sexually integrated. Despite stiff competition, they could well be the

most exciting musically as well—especially in live performance.

Not that there's any sense of rivalry among the three bands. The Selecter and the Specials are friends and partners, collaborators and label-mates. During Madness' recent American tour, one of the highlights of their shows was a version of "The Selecter," the band's instrumental signature tune. On the back cover of *Too Much Pressure*, special thanks are given to both Madness and the Specials.

There's an appealing sense of community, of mutual support, within the ska revival.

Why the surprising re-emergence of ska? The music was originally the Jamaican pop of the early '60s, an upbeat horn-dominated precursor to reggae (Millie Small's "My Boy Lollipop" and Desmond Dekker's "Israelites" were the only ska-related hits to make it over here). While ska anticipated reggae's social conscience, it has none of reggae's brooding mysticism or Rastafarian intrigue. It's a jumpier, more immediate music. At a time when dance music is the rage, ska is the most danceable beat around.

In performance, the Selecter's music practically dares anyone to sit still. There's no fat, no extraneous embellishment within this seven-person attack—solo strands arise out of and blend back into the tonal fabric, rather than superimposing themselves upon the music.

Whatever flash the band requires is supplied by Pauline Black, an irrepressible dynamo who stalks the stage, exhorts the crowd to dance the night away,



Pauline Black

and otherwise provides the Selecter with a natural focal point. With Pauline at the helm, this is music as release.

It is also music with a message. Selecter originals such as "Too Much Pressure" and "Danger" ("I was only having some fun when they come and take me away") treat political considerations as an inherent part of everyday existence, a common-sense response to daily life rather than a matter of doctrine or simplistic sloganeering. The example of the Selecter suggests that a thinking band must necessarily be a political band.

The impact of the Selecter and the ska revival in general proceeds from business practices as well as music. The re-

emergence of ska can be traced directly to the formation of 2-Tone Records, an independent label started by the Specials' Jerry Dammers on a shoe-string budget.

When the Specials were ready to record last year, they decided to bypass the major labels and release a single themselves. The "A" side was the Specials' "Gangsters," a blistering diatribe against business as usual in the music industry. For the flip side, Specials' drummer John Bradbury collaborated with guitarist Noel Davies on a blue-beat instrumental. Both the song and the band assembled to perform it were dubbed "The Selecter." As the single became a surprise British smash, both the Specials and the Selecter emerged as cult sensations.

While it would have been easy for both bands to fold 2-Tone and sign for a large advance—with a major label, both have preferred to retain their 2-Tone autonomy. (Madness, which also had its first release on the label, opted to sign with Stiff to avoid typecasting.) 2-Tone's present distribution agreement with Chrysalis allows the bands to continue releasing whatever they want and signing whatever other bands they please.

Over the past year, 2-Tone has established an enviable track record, with practically every single released on the label bulleting up the British charts. At a time when many major labels are floundering, 2-Tone has shown that there's still a place for quality, consistency, integrity, and vision within the music marketplace.

Which is the way pop music has consistently regenerated itself—through movements like the ska revival, through labels like 2-Tone, through bands like the Selecter that can inject fresh blood into an industry that consistently requires it.

As Pauline Black sings, it is no longer a case of "just the same old show on my radio."

Don McLeese writes on music for Chicago publications.